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ABSTRACT

Intended for use in preservice teacher education programs, this unit provides an overview of the role that women have played as educators. The publication is designed to help future teachers become knowledgeable about issues of sexism and skilled in approaches to alleviating this problem in schools. The sections are chronological. Section 1, "Colonial Women as Educators, 1600-1776," examines early private schools and differences in educating females and males. Section 2, "Educating Citizens for the Republic, 1776-1860," discusses the development of mass education, the growth of the female seminary, the role of women in teaching, women's rights, and educating black children in antebellum America. The third section, "The Reshaping of Mass Public Education, 1865-1900," deals with the feminization of teaching, vocational education, women's access to higher education, the social settlement house, and the rise of the kindergarten. In section 4, "Teaching as a Career in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1960," teachers' organizations, progressive education, new opportunities for black women and racial integration of public schools are discussed. The fifth section, "Toward Non-Sexist Schools, 1960-1980," deals with sex discrimination in teaching and changes in educational policy. Section 6 contains a brief summary. Discussion questions and related activities are provided at the conclusion of the publication. Ninety-seven references are included. (RM)

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THE IMPACT OF WOMEN ON AMERICAN EDUCATION

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SO 015037

Women's Educational Equity Act Program
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CONTENTS

FOREWORD v

OTHER UNITS IN THIS SERIES vii

PREFACE. ix

SECTION 1: COLONIAL WOMEN AS EDUCATORS, 1600-1776 1

Early Private Schools. 2

Differences in Educating Females and Males 3

SECTION 2: EDUCATING CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC, 1776-1860 7

The Development of Mass Education. 7

The Growth of the Female Seminary. 10

Teaching and the Role of Women 12

Teaching and Women's Rights. 13

Educating Black Children in Antebellum America 14

SECTION 3: THE RESHAPING OF MASS PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1865-1900. 19

The Feminization of Teaching 19

Black Education and Vocational Education 21

American Indians and Vocational Education. 24

Women and Vocational Education 26

Women's Access to Higher Education 26

Teaching and the College-Educated Woman. 28

The Social Settlement House. 29

The Rise of the Kindergarten 29

SECTION 4: TEACHING AS A CAREER IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1900-1960 . . 33

Salary Differences 33

The Growth of Teachers' Organizations. 34

The Decline of Teachers' Unions. 35

Progressive Education and Progressive Educators. 36

Black Women: Forging New Opportunities. 39

Women and the Racial Integration of the Public Schools 41

SECTION 5: TOWARD NON-SEXIST SCHOOLS, 1960-1980 45

Reassessment of the Schools: Sex-Role Issues. 45

Sex Discrimination in Teaching and Enrollments 47

Changes in Educational Policy: Toward Sex Equity. 48

SECTION 6: CONCLUSION 51

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES. 53

NOTES. 55

LIST OF REFERENCES 65

FOREWORD

The Impact of Women on American Education is one of six curricular units developed by the Non-Sexist Teacher Education Project (NSTEP) under a grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEAP), U.S. Department of Education. The units are designed for use in preservice teacher education programs, so that future teachers can become knowledgeable about issues of sexism and skilled in approaches to alleviating this problem in schools.

Five of the six curricular units in this series were field-tested in teacher education programs at ten institutions of higher education across the nation. Based on the results of the field-testing, the materials were revised prior to dissemination.

This curricular unit was written by Linda K. Kerber, University of Iowa.

The project codirectors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of John Fiegel, Education Program Specialist, WEEAP, U.S. Department of Education, and Leslie Wolfe, Director, WEEAP, for the time and talent they contributed to the successful implementation of this project. Shirley McCune, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Equal Educational Opportunity Programs, provided a constant source of support and encouragement to the project and deserves special thanks.

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The cover photography was done by Peter Broomell and designed by Jaeger Design Studio.

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OTHER UNITS IN THIS SERIES

NON-SEXIST TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT--SEX-EQUITY CURRICULUM FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Myra Sadker and Tom Hicks
Series Editors

The Non-Sexist Teacher Education Project developed four non-sexist teacher education units that have been published. They are all self-contained units designed for easy integration with teacher education courses. Each unit contains objectives and summaries, as well as supplementary activities and discussion questions. The units apply to the preparation of both elementary and secondary teachers, and they include student activities and resources for non-sexist materials.

SEXISM IN EDUCATION*

Rita Bornstein
University of Miami

Sexism in Education examines the nature and impact of sex bias in schools. This unit (a) presents a brief history of sexism in American education, (b) provides information on the emergence of the increasing awareness about sex equity from the civil rights movement to the requirements of Title IX, and (c) focuses on the challenges to education in a time of changing values and norms.

The unit presents examples and case studies to maintain student interest. Quizzes and questionnaires help students check their assumptions about and comprehension of the multifaceted issue of sexism. Through these approaches, readers are given instant feedback on their level of information--or misinformation.

BETWEEN TEACHER AND STUDENT: OVERCOMING SEX BIAS IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION*

Myra and David Sadker
American University

This unit examines the research on sex bias in teacher expectations and patterns of interaction. It offers several classroom scenarios and gives readers

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*Published in Sex Equity Handbook for Schools, David and Myra Sadker, eds. (New York: Longman, College and Professional Studies Division, 1981).

the opportunity to analyze these vignettes for potential bias in the way teachers treat male and female students. A variety of observation systems are provided so that teacher candidates can assess the nature and degree of sex bias in the real world of the classroom. The unit concludes with a detailed listing of resources to help future teachers counteract the impact of sex bias in their own classrooms.

BEYOND THE DICK AND JANE SYNDROME: CONFRONTING SEX BIAS IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS*

Donna M. Gollnick
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education

and

Myra and David Sadker
American University

It is difficult to begin reading critically for the purpose of identifying sex bias, as most of us have been conditioned to read information in textbooks as if it were unquestionably accurate. However, in order to implement a non-sexist curriculum, teachers must first be able to recognize the biases that often exist in instructional materials.

This unit describes six forms of bias that often characterize instructional materials:

1. Invisibility
2. Stereotyping
3. Imbalance
4. Unreality
5. Fragmentation
6. Linguistic bias

A variety of exercises allow teacher candidates to analyze passages from elementary and secondary school texts for sex bias. Strategies and resources are provided to help teachers compile and develop non-sexist, multicultural materials.

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*Published in Sex Equity Handbook for Schools, David and Myra Sadker, eds. (New York: Longman, College and Professional Studies Division, 1981).

PREFACE

For more than a century and a half, teaching in America has been a woman's profession. Four out of every five teachers in American schools have been women. Women have found in teaching not only steady employment but the opportunity to do socially important work in an atmosphere that has both challenged their intellect and offered a reasonable degree of autonomy.

But historians have usually treated the American educational experience as one in which the main actors have been men. It is easy to see how this could occur. Until very recently, most school systems reserved supervisory positions for men. Policy decisions were usually made by male principals, male school superintendents, male state commissioners of education. Histories of educational thought tend to emphasize the work of Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, John Dewey, and Edward L. Thorndike.

These men did not work alone. They lived in a world in which women were colleagues as well as employees. The development in the nineteenth century of free public schools open to all is the work of Emma Willard and Catharine Beecher as well as of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard; the radical new curriculum of progressive educators in the early twentieth century was devised not only by John Dewey at the University of Chicago but also by Elizabeth Irwin at the Little Red School House in New York, Helen Parkhurst at Dalton, and Hilda Taba in San Francisco.

Throughout the history of American education, men and women have worked together. But often they have also worked at cross-purposes, with a real sense of rivalry, and sometimes harbored resentments--some expressed, some not expressed. For example, because the American economy traditionally devalued women's work, communities could pay teachers low salaries and find women willing to accept them. This relatively cheap labor force made it possible for communities to provide public schools relatively cheaply. At the same time, male teachers could feel that women undermined their position in the job market. The classroom was stereotyped as a place for women, and some men felt uncertain and insecure about working in a "woman's profession." Sex made a difference. Traditionally, men and women have been distributed very unevenly in the teaching profession. Whereas elementary schools have been largely staffed by women, about half the high school teachers have been men, and in some periods almost all the supervisors have been men. Given such patterns of distribution, women teachers could not help but know that the chances for advancement enjoyed by their male colleagues were greater than their own.

These features of what might be called the social dynamics of American educational history have only begun to be explored. But there is wide agreement that sex is a basic category by which society is organized, just as race and

class are basic categories.[1] If we wish, for example, to make a general statement about the educational opportunities open to a nineteenth-century child, we need to know not only whether the child came from a rich family or a poor one, whether the child was white or black, but also whether the child was a girl or a boy.

Fifteen years ago, the historian David Potter observed that Americans have been in the habit of treating the male experience as normal, and women's experience as the exception. This habit is still strong in most histories of American education, as a glance at their tables of contents will show. The Impact of Women on American Education is intended to identify some of the points at which the traditional accounts need correction. It is not meant to be a definitive social history of the professional educator in America. It is an overview of the role that women have played as educators, and it points to the ways in which the "normal" includes the experiences of both men and women.

The organization of this curricular unit is chronological. Our story is not, however, a simple tale of uninterrupted progress; we should not content ourselves with asking whether or not things improved for women. Instead, in each chronological section we ask how sex structured professional opportunities for educators--or, stated less formally, to what extent it made a difference, in each time period, whether a teacher was a man or a woman. Because women have often been seen as the most appropriate teachers for certain kinds of children--very young children of both sexes and older girls--the history of professional opportunities is closely linked to the history of classrooms; therefore we also comment from time to time on developments in female education. It is not yet possible to write a definitive social history of the professional educator in America. But it is possible to try to recover the experience of women in American schools. The information we need is found in diaries, in local school records, in the newsletters of teachers' organizations. Much of this information is in the memories of living people.

There are no simple villains. Sexism in the schools has always been reflective of sexism in the larger society. Indeed, some historians would argue that for all their limitations, public schools have been the least sexist institutions in American society. As Patricia Cayo Sexton observes,

> Females are probably treated in a more egalitarian way in schools than in other institutions, including religious, familial, economic, and political institutions. In the modern school, females and males attend classes together, and in approximately the same, rather than token, numbers. They compete on an equal footing and they pursue essentially the same courses of study. [Their teachers are likely to be female.] The sex-segregated public school, while it thrives in some other societies, has almost vanished in the United States.

---

[1]Joan Kelly-Gadol, "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, I (1976), 809-25.

> Virtually nowhere in the adult working world or in adult organizations is so little sex segregation present.[1]

Unfortunately, even schools free of sexist taint have not found it easy to change the outside society. For its students once they graduate, the school has been unable to prevent the structuring of job opportunities according to sex (just as even interracial schools have been unable to prevent the structuring of job opportunities according to race). Nor have schools been insulated from the outside world. Assumptions that contemporaries have made about roles women ought to play could not help but be felt in the schools. The opportunities open to women have been related to popular beliefs about the roles women ought to play in society, what sort of education is appropriate for girls and for women, and who the most appropriate purveyors of this education ought to be.

This curricular unit offers a rapid review of the part women have played in the history of American education; it gives special attention to the educational opportunities and limitations encountered by females and to those occasions on which the fact that a person was male or female made a difference. It is written in the faith that with goodwill and hard work, we may overcome the distortions that occur when the world is seen through the prism of sex.[2]

I am deeply grateful to David Tyack, Barbara Finkelstein, Paul Violas, and Michael S. Katz, who, in their role as Non-Sexist Teacher Education Project reviewers, offered shrewd commentary on an earlier version of this work. I am also grateful to Nellie Naylor of Hofstra University. The usual disclaimer to the effect that they are not responsible for my errors applies with unusual force; occasionally my interpretation contrasts with that of one or another reviewer. The courtesy and generosity with which they shared their knowledge is renewed testimony to the existence of a community of scholars.

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[1]Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women in Education (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), p. 5.

[2]The implications of this phrase are richly explored in Julia A. Sherman and Evelyn Torton Beck, eds., The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

SECTION 1: COLONIAL WOMEN AS EDUCATORS, 1600-1776

Why should girls be learn'd or wise?
Books only serve to spoil their eyes.

John Trumbull

Few American colonists thought it was absolutely necessary to go to school to become an educated person. The family was the primary institution for the transmission of culture from one generation to the next. In the new world, as in the old, parents were expected to be the most significant teachers of the rules of ethical conduct, the principles of religion, and the vocational skills their children would need. Both fathers and mothers had pedagogic obligations.[1]

Colonial society was primarily agricultural, and the skills needed to maintain farm and plantation were transmitted by example, from generation to generation. Tasks were identified by sex; although young boys often worked at "girls' tasks," their work patterns shifted as they grew older. Fathers taught boys most of the skills they would need; mothers taught girls. Women's work was important in the economy of the household; if the mother could not teach, other women were asked to help. After her mother died, 14-year-old Kezia Stiles was sent by her father, who was president of Yale, to board with a country family to learn "spinning, milking, dairying, and etc. so as to lay the foundation of a notable woman."[2]

The educational work of the family was reinforced by the widespread system of apprenticeship. Young people might be bound out for a period of years, and their employers were in turn required to teach them a skill or trade. Often these skills were general, such as "husbandman" or "huswife"; occasionally they were complex and sophisticated, such as river pilot or surveyor. Trades were also distinguished by sex. Girls did not learn to be river pilots or surveyors or coopers or cordwainers; virtually the only skilled trade to which a girl might be apprenticed was seamstress or a specialized variant, like cloakmaker. In some colonies, including North Carolina and Pennsylvania, it became a common but not invariable practice to promise that the apprentice would learn to read, write, and do simple arithmetic; these promises were made less often to girls than they were to boys.[3]

In areas like Virginia and New England, where churches were strong, ministers acted as teachers. They catechized children and teenagers; in teaching children the Bible, they often introduced young people to the world of print. In Puritan New England and Quaker Pennsylvania, where the belief was strong that each person should be able to read the Bible, parents--especially mothers--were encouraged to teach their children to read at the same time that the

children were taught the elements of religion. One young man who grew up in Massachusetts at the end of the seventeenth century remembered his mother in this pedagogical role:

> My mother, who was a pious and prudent woman . . . endeavored to instill into [me] the principals of Religion and holiness; . . . she was unwearied in her watchings, instructions, admonitions, warnings, reproofs & exhortations, that she might bring [me] up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, . . . and when she had caused me to read well at home, she sent me to school.[4]

EARLY PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Teaching children to read was sandwiched in during a day's work; for a fee, women sometimes taught neighbors' children as well as their own. The diary of a young Connecticut woman, written shortly before the Revolution, suggests the place of this sort of teaching in her day's work:

> Fix'd gown for Prude--Mend Mother's Riding-hood--Spun short thread-- . . . Spun thread to whiten, Set a Red dye,--Had two scholars from Mrs. Taylor's,--I carded two pounds of whole wool--[5]

Arrangements like these could blend imperceptibly into small private schools. These private schools developed most frequently in northern towns and in cities throughout the colonies; one historian estimates that more than 50 such schools could be found in Charles Town, South Carolina, between 1736 and 1776. There is scattered evidence of towns having helped stabilize private schools with public funds; in 1682, for example, the town of Springfield, Massachusetts, agreed with "Goodwife Mirick to encourage her in the good work of training up children, and teaching children to read, and that she should have three pence a week for every child that she takes to perform this good work for."[6]

But most of these schools were independent ventures; they were one of the few ways in which a middle-class woman could support her family. Women found that they could earn money in their own homes by providing a blend of what we would now call child care and the primary grades. Sarah Osborn, who opened her Newport, Rhode Island, home to students when her husband's health failed, and who accepted payment in services rather than cash, found that she had to defend her career against the complaint that she risked neglecting her family. She had undertaken her school, she asserted,

> for soport of my family. And if in this time I Educate the children of poor Neighbours who Gladly pay me in washing, Ironing, Mending and Making, I Imagine it is the same thing as if I did it with my own Hands. I think my family does not Suffer thro my Neglect tho doubtless if I Had a full purse and Nothing to do but Look after them some things Might be done with more Exactness than now. . . .[7]

Thus, informally and prompted by necessity, some colonial women developed the educational services they had provided privately to their own families into an economically remunerative venture.

Advertisements

This is to give Notice that Mrs. Sarah Todd has now open'd a School to Teach young Women Writing and Cyphering, at the house of Mrs. Anne Dowding, in Corn Court near the Dock Market, Boston; Also will wait on Gentlemen's Children at their Houses if desired, between School Hours.

At the same House young Gentlewomen are Boarded and all sorts of Needle Work is taught.

Boston Gazette, May 24, 1736

A Boarding School for the Education of Young Ladies, Will be Opened . . . at the House opposite the Rev. Mr. Cooper's in New Church Street, by Mrs. Duneau, a Gentlewoman come from England, Who has brought up many Ladies of Rank and Distinction . . . Teaching the French and English Languages grammatically--Geography--History--and many instructing Amusements to improve the Mind--with all Sorts of fashionable Needle Work.

South Carolina Gazette, May 17, 1770

The curricula of these schools varied with the talents of the schoolmistress. Only a very few developed into fashionable boarding schools at which dancing and French were taught. Most offered to teach little more than the rudiments of literacy. These teachers were, after all, teaching reading and writing in a society that did not yet define universal public education as a major goal; even in New England, only cautious steps were being taken in that direction.

DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATING FEMALES AND MALES

It is difficult to estimate how many colonists knew how to read and write. Scholars often try to get a rough estimate by counting signatures on wills and deeds. There are problems with this method, though, because reading was taught before writing--as it is to this day--and many people apparently learned to read but not to write. Moreover, the fact that a person could, with care, scratch out a signature did not necessarily mean that he or she could read fluently.

There is general agreement, however, that only a minority of white male colonists in the first half of the seventeenth century could read and write, and that the number of literate men grew steadily throughout the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. People who lived in cities were more apt to learn to read than countryfolk; people in the North more than people in the South. But whether urban or rural, northern or southern, a woman was considerably less likely than her brother or husband to be able to read. One historian estimates that "a large majority of seventeenth century women in Virginia were totally illiterate," and another that at a time when three out of every five men in Virginia could sign their names, only one out of every three women could. By the eve of the Revolution, when perhaps 80 percent of Boston's adult men could read, less than 50 percent of its adult women could.[8]

How are we to explain this discrepancy? It is surely linked to the general understanding that women were best suited to domestic life, where their work rarely required complex learning. Those who did support instruction in reading, writing, and simple arithmetic for women usually justified their position by saying that fluency in these skills would help a woman become a better housewife, better able to manage a household. A literate woman could, they reasoned, keep lists of recipes and medical remedies, and maintain simple accounts; a religious woman should be able to read her Bible. But even supporters of education for girls rarely went further than that. The insistence that a woman be educated enough to read and to teach her children to read was, ironically, accompanied by suspicion of more extensive learning in women.

Throughout colonial society, in the North and in the South, the same paired contradiction could be found: basic literacy was to be encouraged in women, but sustained higher learning was to be discouraged. Americans brought with them to the new world the ancient belief that women were incapable of abstract thought--that indeed, excessive mental exercise was literally dangerous to women's health. When Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts learned that a friend's wife had gone mad, he was not surprised. Winthrop was quick to ascribe her malady to excessive reading:

> If she had attended to her household affairs and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, [if] she had kept her wits, [she] might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place that God had set her.[9]

Thus it did not seem odd to American colonists that (a) although boys and girls received their earliest schooling together, advanced formal education was reserved for boys, and (b) the teachers of advanced work were men. (Most children, of either sex, ceased their formal education when they had learned to read and write.) The famous Massachusetts school law of 1647, which required every town of 50 families to hire a schoolmaster who would teach all the children to read and write, also required every town of 100 families to establish a grammar school "to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The town of Roxbury, Massachusetts, established a school because the community recognized "how necessary the education of their children in literature [would] be, to fit them for public service, both in church and commonwealth, in succeeding ages." New Haven's grammar schools were intended "for the instruction of hopeful youths in the Latin tongue." All implied that the preparation was for boys only. Occasionally a town troubled to spell it

out. One Connecticut town passed a law providing for a school for "all such children as shall be sent to it," but the next year nervously amended the law: "by all such is to be understood only male children."[10]

Similar disparities between male education and female education were found in the South, where publicly supported schools were slow to form. The best-educated children were the sons and daughters of planters who hired a tutor to reside in their home. Usually the tutor taught young girls along with their brothers, but as the boys grew older, they were put to the classics, from which girls were excused.[11] In the South, as in the North, knowledge of Greek and Latin was regarded as an essential element of higher education, partly because works of politics and philosophy were still untranslated, but more important, because knowledge of Latin had long been taken to be the mark of an educated man. Latin was thought to be a tool of learning and a gateway to complex thought. The exclusion of women from access to the classics and from colleges was related to the assumption that the professions of medicine, law, and the ministry for which the university prepared its students had been restricted to men for as long as anyone could remember. The exclusion of women was also related to the popular belief that women's brains were too weak to stand the challenge of classical study, and that sustained abstract thought was best left to men.[12]

The colonial experience stretched over 170 years and from New England to Georgia; educational institutions grew erratically over time and space. Although girls were never admitted to Latin schools or to universities, and although there were no institutions in which women might be trained as teachers, the participation of girls as students and of women as teachers increased over the course of the eighteenth century.

Town-supported grammar schools in the North sometimes admitted girls; more often they began to hold sessions for girls and for younger children of both sexes during the summer months, when adolescent boys were needed to work in the fields (girls' work in the household--preserving food, making clothing--was more likely to be indoor work, done in fall and winter; girls could be spared in hot weather).[13] Yet even these small summer schools represented increased access to schools for girls. They also provided new job opportunities for young women, who were hired to teach in them.

As the years of the Revolution approached, more schools, both public and private, were open to girls, and more women were teaching in them than had been true in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the old skepticism about the capabilities of women's brains was very much alive.

SECTION 2: EDUCATING CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC, 1776-1860

> *We must (if open to conviction,) be convinced that females are fully capable of sounding the most profound depths and of attaining to the most sublime exellence in every part of science.*
>
> J. A. Neale

Patterns of American education were transformed in the first half-century after independence. When George Washington took the oath of office as President, men were much more likely than women to be literate. Teaching was thought to be a male profession. Women hovered on the fringes, as teachers of the youngest children. The overwhelming majority of students enrolled in schools were boys. But within two generations, girls had gained easy access to primary education and were beginning to attend high schools. The literacy gap had closed everywhere but in the South. By the time the Civil War began, teaching had become a female occupation.

How can these profound changes in educational patterns be explained? To what extent did they reflect revisions in the way Americans understood the roles each sex ought to play?

Several important trends were at work. Foremost was the widespread improvement in access to schooling. This improvement, which affected both boys and girls, was based in part on the fear that the republic could not endure unless the "rising generation" was properly socialized and taught to play the part of virtuous citizens of a stable political order. Republics were thought to be risky ventures; unless each successive generation was self-disciplined and public-spirited, the state might dissolve in riot and demagoguery. In the new nation, education seemed to play a significant political role, as it continues to play to this day in post-revolutionary societies and in developing countries.[1]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS EDUCATION

Americans of the post-revolutionary generation paid a great deal of attention to schemes for improving general knowledge. But different arguments were developed in defense of improved education for boys and for girls. Boys, it was thought, needed education so that they could be economically independent and so that they could develop their talents and their potential for public service. In contrast, schemes for improved education for girls had little to do with self-realization or the development of potential talent. Girls, it was thought, ought to be educated to be helpful wives; to be self-reliant in the event of an emergency; and because as the mothers of the next generation, they

would play an important role in shaping the character of the male citizens of the republic. Benjamin Rush wrote:

> The equal share that every citizen has in the liberty, and the possible share he may have in the government of our country, make it necessary that our ladies should be qualified to a certain degree by a peculiar and suitable education, to concur in instructing their sons in the principles of liberty and government.[2]

(Note that Rush assumed "citizens" were necessarily men.)

By the 1830s the argument that the republic had a responsibility to educate its future citizens had moved from a philosophical statement to an active political demand for free, tax-supported schools. This demand was made by urban workingmen's associations in the 1820s. It was made into a national reform movement in the 1830s and 1840s by Horace Mann, the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. "Education," Mann wrote in his final annual report in 1848, "is the great equalizer of the conditions of men . . . it gives each man the independence and the means, by which he can resist the selfishness of other men."[3] Although some conservatives opposed free schools as extravagant, many industrialists were prepared to join Mann in support of the schools on the grounds that modern industry required a skilled and intelligent work force. "Let your common school system go hand in hand with the employment of your people," wrote one industrialist; "you may be quite certain that the adoption of these systems at once, will aid each other."[4] Other conservatives felt that the immigration of the Irish gave new force to old arguments for education as a socializing device.

Thus liberals and conservatives joined in support of free common schools; the movement for mass public education was composed of contradictory elements of generosity and of fear. It was both a democratic movement and a product of industrial capitalism; it promised the social mobility that working people desired and the more docile work force that capitalists hoped for.

The post-revolutionary argument that girls needed to be educated in order to be more useful wives and mothers continued to be heard; the new common schools usually admitted girls as well as boys (although they seated the sexes separately and sometimes had separate schools for girls). These new schools made a major difference; one study concludes that the percentage of whites between the ages of 5 and 20 attending school increased from 38 percent in 1840 to 59 percent in 1860. Girls took advantage of the new opportunities, although school attendance rates varied with sex (they were slightly higher for boys), with region (they were lowest in the South, while white school attendance in New England exceeded 80 percent in 1840), and with race (approximately 50 percent of eligible free blacks attended New England schools in 1850; only 2 or 3 percent of free blacks had access to schools in the South).[5]

A system of mass education on so large a scale required a teaching staff far greater than existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. How was a large new staff to be recruited? Common schools became a major new source of employment for women, who had few other options for stable jobs. Seeking to

reduce costs, school boards understood that women would work for salaries lower than those offered to men; in antebellum Massachusetts, female teachers earned fully 60 percent less than male teachers. Indeed it could be argued that the common school system would not have developed had it not been able to tap a large pool of female teachers who could be employed for minimal salaries. Horace Mann acknowledged this, though he did not like it: "With our economical habits in regard to all school expenditures, it is a material fact, that the services of females can be commanded for half the price usually paid to males." Gradually women replaced men in the ranks of teachers and were entrusted with classes that included boys as well as girls. Meanwhile, literacy rates for women moved steadily upward everywhere but in the South.

One way in which school districts kept salaries low was by arranging for families in town to provide room and board for a teacher. Because most people assumed that married women belonged in their own homes, and because it was easier to arrange for an unmarried woman to "board round," there were often restrictions against continuing to teach after marriage. (These restrictions against marriage persisted long after the practice of boarding round had ended.)

Not surprisingly, there was a high rate of teacher turnover; one study estimates that the average tenure of a teacher was two years. The astonishing result of the rapid turnover in jobs was that "approximately one out of five white women in pre-Civil War Massachusetts was a school teacher at some time in her life!"[6] Although detailed statistical analysis has been done only for Massachusetts, it is probable that this pattern was repeated elsewhere; indeed, the work pattern established in the 1840s persisted throughout the nineteenth century.

"Boarding Round" in Michigan, 1863

In "boarding round" I often found myself in one-room cabins, with bunks at the end and the sole partition a sheet or blanket, behind which I slept with one or two of the children. It was the custom of these occasions for the man of the house to delicately retire to the barn while we women got to bed, and to disappear again in the morning while we dressed. In some places the meals were so badly cooked that I could not eat them, and often the only food my poor little pupils brought to school for their noonday meal was a piece of bread or a bit of raw pork.

Anna Howard Shaw, age 15

In the early 1880s, for example, a young girl attended winter school in the frontier town of DeSmet, North Dakota. At the age of 15, when she had learned as much as her school had to offer, she was asked to teach in a school at a neighboring settlement. The school had only a handful of children. It was 12

miles away, too far to travel back and forth every day, so it was arranged that the girl live and take her meals with one family in the community. The family lived in a one-room cabin; the young teacher's only privacy was a curtain drawn around her bed. On weekends she went home to her parents' house. When she married, three years later, she ended her teaching career forever. The young woman was Laura Ingalls Wilder, who was eventually to write a long memoir of her life, beginning with Little House in the Big Woods. Although she lived on the frontier, many of her teaching experiences were not unlike those of her New England predecessors of a half-century before.

THE GROWTH OF THE FEMALE SEMINARY

Thus far we have been discussing public primary and common schools, which accounted for by far the overwhelming majority of antebellum students.[7] Yet well before public schools became major employers of women, women had begun to exploit the possibilities of private schools as what one school founder called "a road to eminence."

Teaching was virtually the only occupation open to women that made use of intellectual potential. It had the added advantage of being an extension of what mothers had long done in the privacy of their families. Taking in students required little capital investment, especially if one already had a house. It is said that Sarah Pierce of Litchfield, Connecticut, began in 1792 with a single student at her dining-room table; over the next 40 years Miss Pierce's Academy enrolled some 2,000 young women, including some from as far away as South Carolina and the West Indies. When the future abolitionist Lucretia Mott opened a school in Philadelphia in 1817, her venture was frankly speculative. "We began with four scholars at $7 per quarter, and have since added six," she reported. "Our present number is ten, and we have a prospect of considerable increase shortly."[8]

Other women traveled extensively. For example, Eleanor Emerson of Northbridge, Massachusetts, was only 14 when she began "her beloved employment of schoolkeeping." She worked with "great ardour, assiduity and success" for 12 years, holding schools not only in her own town but in Mendon, Leicester, Brookfield, Tunbridge, Chelsea, Bennington, and Salem between 1790 and 1804.[9]

By 1819 the New York state legislature had received a petition urging it to endow a state-supported female seminary. The proposal came from Emma Hart Willard, a young teacher who visualized a publicly supported female seminary as a counterpart to male colleges. Willard argued that such an institution would provide a hospitable milieu for the development of female intellect and for the exercise of women's administrative talents. Women, she said, were "an essential part of the body politic," and institutions for their welfare ought to be regarded as being just as important as institutions for men. Although Gov. DeWitt Clinton endorsed her proposal, the legislature provided no funding.[10]

Willard established her own private female seminary in the city of Troy, New York, in 1821. In educating older girls she hoped to create a generation of future teachers. She frequently accepted students who could not pay tuition,

on the understanding that they would repay her out of their future earnings. When they graduated, Willard got them jobs.

Throughout her long career, Willard was an ardent advocate of improved education for females and of the obligations of educated women to teach future generations. A similar dream impelled Catharine Beecher, who opened her Hartford Female Seminary in 1823. Both Willard and Beecher became innovators in educational techniques as well as spokespersons for the expansion of educational opportunities. Their work can be seen as congruent with that of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. Graduates of Willard's and Beecher's academies fanned out all over the country, founding schools like those they remembered. Willard and Beecher maintained a wide network of correspondents all over the country, recommending their graduates for jobs and advising on problems of pedagogy and curriculum. By 1837 Willard had organized her correspondents into the Willard Association for the Mutual Improvement of Teachers, one of the very first teachers' associations in America. Beecher founded schools in Cincinnati and Milwaukee; her Committee for Promoting National Education recruited some 450 teachers for western schools.[11]

The founders of the new female seminaries were striking out on new terrain. Since women were not being prepared for the traditional professions--law, medicine, the clergy--teachers could not assume that girls ought to have the same studies as boys. Less inhibited by traditional assumptions about what had "always been done," the founders of the new girls' schools developed a curriculum that was sometimes less demanding but was also capable of being imaginative, even adventurous. This feature of the schools is seldom recognized. Believing, for example, that learning Greek and Latin was a pompous affectation (and because girls did not enter the professions in which Greek and Latin were used), the founders of the new schools did not offer the classics. Instead they concentrated on writing, English grammar and rhetoric, modern literature, American geography, and American history. At a time when "proper" young women were usually encouraged to be squeamish about their own bodies, Emma Willard's school offered substantial amounts of science, even physiology.

Because the usual textbooks were "so dry and devoid of interest that children are disgusted by them," the founders of women's academies were often driven to prepare their own collections or write their own teaching materials. Finding "from long experience . . . that children and youth imbibe ideas most easily, when placed in the form of question and answer," Sarah Pierce wrote a world history in dialogue form for the use of her students.[12] Some of the very first textbooks in American history and geography were written by Emma Willard, who objected to the usual practice of beginning the study of history with the ancient world. She believed that young women needed to know the history of their own country more than they needed to know about Greece and Rome, and when she found no texts that suited her, she wrote some good ones herself.

Indeed, Willard's teaching methods encouraged active, not passive, learning. "Each individual is to himself the centre of his own world," she observed, "and the more intimately he connects his knowledge with himself, the better will it be remembered." In her geography classes, the first assignment was to draw a map of one's hometown.[13]

Willard's sister Almira Hart Lincoln was among the first teachers in the country to allow her students to carry out their own experiments. Her botany text was used in schools and colleges for almost 50 years. Acting was introduced into the curriculum; instead of participating in pompous graduation orations, girls read poetry or presented dramatic skits.[14] Catharine Beecher criticized repetitive recitations as "parrot learning" and insisted that women seek education not as ornament but so they could be useful and active members of the community.[15]

TEACHING AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Even while women began to displace male teachers in American classrooms, the ancient hostility toward intellectual women remained strong. This hostility was deflected in part by the development of an ideology that minimized the scholarly capabilities of women and that defined different spheres for men and women educators.

Proponents stressed that teaching was a natural extension of what women already did as mothers. Even those educators who did the most to improve the standards of female education felt no contradiction in announcing that the primary goal of the educated woman should be intelligent motherhood. Emma Willard, who had demanded so much of the New York legislature, also assured her readers that "it is not a masculine education which is here recommended." She promised that her curriculum would be adapted to the "softer sex" and would include "domestic education" and "housewifery."[16]

Reformers developed the argument that teaching was an occupation for which women were particularly well suited--that indeed, women were better suited than men to be teachers. Horace Mann cited "the greater intensity of the parental instinct in the female sex, their natural love of the society of children, and the superior gentleness and forbearance of their dispositions."[17]

Female promoters of education for women--like Catharine Beecher and Sarah Josepha Hale, the influential editor of Godey's Lady's Book--did not disagree. They too believed strongly that women's occupation should be in "mothering" professions: as teachers of small children, as nurses, and as physicians to female patients, for example. They did not believe that women should try to enter the traditionally male fields of law, politics, and the clergy. "The great purpose of a woman's life--the happy superintendence of a family--is accomplished all the better and easier by preliminary teaching in school," wrote Catharine Beecher. She made it clear that the entry of women into teaching was not intended to change traditional sex roles.[18] In 1840 she wrote:

> Heaven has appointed to one sex the superior, and to the other the subordinate station, and this without any reference to the character or conduct of either. It is therefore as much for the dignity as it is for the interest of females, in all respects to conform to the duties of this relation.[19]

TEACHING AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Because teaching was normally understood as the logical extension of what mothers did in their homes, female teachers were seldom criticized for stepping out of their "proper place." As we have seen, reformers usually held rather traditional views about appropriate behavior for women. But, as John Adams once remarked of Harvard College students, "the spirit of liberty spread where it was not intended."

Many teachers came to be interested in issues relating to women's roles and status. When Lucretia Mott was only 15 she was hired to teach at the Quaker boarding school she had attended as a pupil; it was what we could call a consciousness-raising experience:

> The unequal condition of woman impressed my mind. Learning that the charge for the tuition of girls was the same as that for boys, and that when they became teachers women received only half as much as men for their services, the injustice of this distinction was so apparent, that I early resolved to claim for myself all that an impartial Creator had bestowed.[20]

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who became one of the leading women's rights advocates of the nineteenth century, had been a student at the Troy Seminary, and she always remembered Emma Willard's "regal self-respect (a rare quality in a woman)."[21] Stanton's close companion in all her reform work was Susan B. Anthony. Anthony had been headmistress at Canajoharie Academy in New York, and one of the experiences that drew her to the women's rights movement was finding that when she attended a meeting of the New York State Teachers' Association, she was initially denied permission to speak because she was a woman.

Beginning with the Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments," signed in 1848, most women's rights statements of principle included indictments of unequal educational treatment. Reformers emphasized that women's status could not change until women's education was improved. The Seneca Falls Declaration complained of the denial to women of "facilities for obtaining a thorough education." In the minds of reformers, suffrage and greater access to educational opportunity were linked from the beginning.

Susan B. Anthony Tries to Address the New York State Teachers' Association

After having listened for hours to a discussion as to the reason why the profession of teacher was not as respected as that of the lawyer, minister, or doctor, without once, as she thought, touching the kernel of the question, she arose to untie for them the Gordian knot, and said, "Mr. President." If all the witches that had been drowned, burned, and hung in the Old World and the New had suddenly appeared on the platform, threatening vengeance for their wrongs, the officers of that convention could not have been thrown into greater

consternation. . . . [After a half-hour's debate the male members of the meeting finally took a vote and granted her permission to speak. Anthony said:]

> It seems to me, gentlemen, that none of you quite comprehend the cause of the disrespect of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says a woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister or doctor, but has ample ability to be a teacher, that every man of you who chooses this profession tacitly acknowledges that he has no more brains that a woman? And this, too, is the reason that teaching is a less lucrative profession, as here men must compete with the cheap labor of woman. Would you exalt your profession, exalt those who labor with you.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al.,
The History of Woman Suffrage

EDUCATING BLACK CHILDREN IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA

The history of American education must be told in terms of status and race as well as sex. This is difficult to do. Although Carter G. Woodson wrote his important book The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 more than 65 years ago, the subject has not yet been fully explored. Our understanding of the education of black children remains hazy. Did black children use the same texts as white schools used? Did they follow the same routines? In what ways did their teachers develop the curriculum to suit their own needs? Nor have historians explored the extent to which boys and girls had distinctive educational experiences, although one recent research project reports that free black women were less likely than free black men to be able to read and write.[22] An account of the impact of black women on antebellum education has yet to be written, but we can suggest some of the themes such an account should include.

Slave owners were generally skeptical of education for slaves, lest the slaves be prompted to question their status and ultimately to rebel. Literacy among slaves was kept low by explicit policy; in 1740 South Carolina adopted what Meyer Weinberg calls "the first compulsory ignorance law in America," severely penalizing those who taught slaves to read.[23] Similar laws were enacted throughout the South in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, in reaction to the abolition of slavery in the North and to the efforts of abolitionists to distribute pamphlet literature in the South.

There is, however, a great deal of anecdotal evidence that slaves struggled to educate themselves and their children. Slave owners occasionally disobeyed the law. Growing up as a favored daughter in a rich Charleston family, the future abolitionist Sarah Grimké tried to teach her slave maid to read "behind a locked bedroom door and by the light of blazing pine knots. [We] were soon discovered, and the lessons stopped."[24] A very few women slaves attempted to teach in secret; in Natchez, Milla Granson ran a secret midnight school for seven years; her pupils pursued their studies at enormous personal risk.[25]

Although slavery slowly eroded in the North after the Revolution, there remained widespread resistance to the education of free black children, whether

boys or girls. Public schools were often segregated, those for blacks markedly worse than those for whites. Blacks in Boston were especially emphatic in demanding equal and nonsegregated education; in 1849 they directly challenged separate schools. In that year, Benjamin Roberts arranged for a lawsuit on behalf of his five-year-old daughter, who had to pass five white primary schools on her way to the black grade school. Her case was argued eloquently by the well-known abolitionist Charles Sumner, who claimed for Sarah Roberts equality before the law. Although the Supreme Court of Massachusetts ruled against Sarah Roberts, establishing the precedent for the "separate but equal" decision of Plessy v. Ferguson many years later, black parents continued to fight segregation. Five years later they succeeded in persuading the state legislature to prohibit racial segregation in Massachusetts public schools.[26]

Susie King Taylor Remembers a Secret School

I was born under the slave law in Georgia . . . on August 6, 1848, my mother being waitress for the Great family. . . . My brother and I being the two eldest, we were sent to a friend of my grandmother, Mrs. Woodhouse, a widow, to learn to read and write. She was a free woman and lived on Bay Lane, about half a mile from my house.

We went every day about nine o'clock, with our books wrapped in paper to prevent the police or white persons from seeing them. . . . She had twenty-five or thirty children whom she taught, assisted by her daughter, Mary Jane. The neighbors would see us going in sometimes, but they supposed we were there learning trades, as it was the custom to give children a trade of some kind.

After school we left the same way we entered, one by one, when we would go to a square, about a block from the school, and wait for each other.

Quoted in Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America

Private schools that attempted to desegregate met severe opposition. Perhaps the best-known effort at desegregation was the attempt by Prudence Crandall to establish a biracial school for girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. In 1833 Crandall agreed to admit to her boarding school a young black girl who wished to train to be a teacher of other blacks. The parents of white students withdrew their daughters; Crandall recruited 19 more black girls and reopened. This time the townspeople threatened her and her students physically, and they successfully pressed for the passage of a special law punishing a school that admitted blacks from out of state. Crandall did not give up her fight until her school was virtually destroyed by a mob and the lives of her pupils were at risk. Her bravery and the bravery of her students are in contrast to the extraordinary hostility of her contemporaries toward the goal of educating black women.[27]

If black women were to receive an education they had to find a way of doing so within the black community. The city in which this was most possible was Philadelphia, where a prosperous and well-established free black community had long existed.

Sarah Mapps Douglass, daughter of a prominent free black family in Philadelphia, was an early leader in antislavery and in the education of black children. She established a small school for black children sometime in the 1820s, and it endured at least through 1838, when the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society undertook its financial support. In 1853 Douglass took charge of the girls' primary department of the Institute for Colored Youth, a Quaker-supported school that continued into the twentieth century and became an important training school for black teachers.[28]

Charlotte Forten had to travel to Massachusetts to study to be a teacher. In 1851 Myrtilla Miner decided to open for black girls a school "endowed with all the powers and professorships belonging to a first class school." Miner insisted on founding her school in Washington because she believed the nation's capital should have a model school for free black children. Abolitionists sent her funds (Harriet Beecher Stowe sent $1,000 of her royalties from Uncle Tom's Cabin) and the school opened. Like Crandall's school, it became the target of repeated mob attacks, arson, and other forms of violence; the 40 black girls who attended were always risking their safety. But the school was a model institution; indeed Miner was accused of "educating colored children beyond their station." The school was temporarily closed at the outbreak of the Civil War, and Miner herself died in 1864. Nevertheless, the school's successor, Miner Teachers College, carried out its work, in cooperation with Howard University, and was eventually absorbed into the District of Columbia Teachers College.[29]

Many blacks received their formal education in Sunday schools conducted by churches; we know relatively little about the conduct of these classes and whether girls were more or less likely than their brothers to attend. We have only scattered information about the attendance at segregated schools for free blacks, and whether teachers were more likely to be men or women. Much research remains to be done, and much remains to be learned about the educational experiences of black women in the antebellum years.

Charlotte Forten was the daughter of one of the most distinguished free black families in Philadelphia. Rather than send her to segregated schools, her family sent her to Salem, Massachusetts, where she lived with the family of the black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond, and where the Higginson Grammar School was not segregated. Her goal was to be a teacher of black children and to prove by her own example and that of her students that, as her biographer writes, "a dark skin could conceal a mind second to none." When she was 18 she entered a teacher-training school:

Sept. 12, 1855: Today school commenced. --Most happy am I to return to the companionship of my studies, --ever my most valued friends. It is pleasant to meet the scholars again; most of them greeted me cordially, and were it not for the thought that will intrude, of the want of entire sympathy even of those I know and like best, I should greatly enjoy their society. . . . I wonder that every colored person is not a misanthrope. Surely we have everything to make us hate mankind. I have met girls in the schoolroom--they have been thoroughly kind and cordial to me, --perhaps the next day met them in the street,--they feared to recognize me. . . .

June 18, 1856: Amazing, wonderful, new. . . . It has completely astounded me. . . . I have received the offer of a situation as teacher in one of the public schools of this city,--of this conservative, aristocratic old city of Salem!!! Wonderful indeed it is! I know that it is principally through the exertions of my kind teacher, although he will not acknowledge it. --Again and again I ask myself--"Can it be true?" It seems impossible. I shall commence tomorrow.

Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Journal of Charlotte Forten

SECTION 3: THE RESHAPING OF MASS PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1865-1900

> *Don't ever dare to take your college as a matter of course--because like freedom and democracy, many people you'll never know anything about have broken their hearts to get it for you.*
>
> Alice Duer Miller

Alice Duer Miller's words were addressed to the alumnae of a single small women's college, but they might easily have been intended for masses of students in a wide variety of educational institutions. In the second half of the nineteenth century many new sorts of schools were established: primary schools for freed black children and adults; black colleges like Hampton and Tuskegee; large graded schools set in complex, bureaucratized urban systems; vocational programs within high schools; kindergartens; evening schools allied with settlement houses; large coeducational public universities; and private colleges for women. These changes in schooling were part of Americans' response to major social changes: the end of slavery, the massive immigration that began in the 1880s, and the industrial transformation of American life. Each of these changes owed something to women's initiatives, and each in turn had a significant effect upon women's status in the social order--sometimes to women's advantage, sometimes not.

THE FEMINIZATION OF TEACHING

The feminization of teaching--that is, the shift from male teachers to female teachers, especially in the lower grades--that had begun in the 1830s continued after the Civil War. Familiar reasons for the selection of female teachers continued to be offered, composed in equal measure of economics and ideology.

First, since women had few alternative white-collar occupations, they continued to find even the relatively low teachers' salaries reasonably attractive. Many school boards, when their male teachers went off to fight in the war, shifted from men to women and discovered to their pleasure that they could run their schools more cheaply.[1]

Second, the claim was still made that teaching was especially congruent with woman's domestic role. It was thought that a young unmarried woman who learned to handle young children in the years before her marriage would ultimately be a better mother to her own, and also that women's natural instincts to nurture would make women better suited to be teachers. "It is the nature of being of the mother-sex to gather together into her care and brood over and instruct creatures younger and feebler than herself," announced one theorist.[2]

Finally, the argument was heard that gentlewomen would have a refining influence on boys. "Sometimes boys would be spurred on to disobedience and open rebellion against the authority of a master, while their generous sentiments would be touched with a feeling of chivalry towards a female," Horace Mann had written.[3] The belief persisted after the Civil War and was sometimes voiced in terms of the civilizing influence women would have on immigrant children.

There was, however, much inconsistency in the ideas that Americans held. Despite the alleged civilizing influence of mild-mannered women, it was also maintained that women were physically too weak to discipline rowdy older boys, and that for their own good and for the sake of the school, women ought to be assigned to primary grades. Despite the alleged congruence of the role of the teacher with the role of the mother, the stipulation that the female teacher remain unmarried continued in many contracts, even when the practice of boarding round had ceased. Some school districts were especially suspicious of married women teachers (though not of married men). In New York City, for example, married women might not teach unless their husbands were incapacitated; in 1904 women teachers in New York City were required to resign when they married:

> No woman principal, woman head of department, or woman member of the teaching or supervising staff shall marry while in the service. It shall be the duty of a District Superintendent to bring to the notice of the Board of Superintendents the marriage of any such person in his district.[4]

Apart from the obvious inequity of this rule, it had the effect of removing the most experienced teachers from the classroom.

The flow of women into the ranks of teachers continued; by 1890 roughly two-thirds of all teachers in American schools were women, and their numbers were increasing. The graduation pattern of one famous teacher-training school suggests the national trend: in the 1840s, 57 percent of its graduates were female; by the first decade of the twentieth century, more than 90 percent of its graduates were female.[5] There were those who responded to the feminization of the teaching profession with fear and hostility. "I think it is impossible not to connect a certain ..ildness of boys with the feminization of the schools," wrote the distinguished psychologist G. Stanley Hall in 1908.[6] The nation's troubles were blamed on its female teachers. Wrote Robert Rogers in the popular magazine Literary Digest:

> For half a century, the largest part of our young people have been trained exclusively by women teachers. . . . Fifty years of this has produced a people incompetent to think politically and philosophically. . . . Our American thinking is feminine thinking, inculcated by women teachers, highly competent in detail, immediate in its applications, rigidly idealistic regardless of the working facts, and weak on critical examination.[7]

The Chicago Board of Education called in 1891 for "the restoration of the element of masculinity" and encouraged the hiring of male teachers. With fear and

trembling, Philadelphians noticed that they had 2,745 female teachers and only 126 men; a male School of Pedagogy was established in that city in 1892. Separate male and female teacher associations were founded. Groups of male teachers complained not only that they were poorly paid (which they were) but that female teachers held the salaries down. In New York City a male teacher association complained that "teaching has been made a cheap profession" because women were able and willing to teach for little pay. The association members demanded "that all normal boys, upon entering their tenth year of life, should be . . . under the direct control of a man teacher" and that 'only male teachers" should teach older boys.[8]

Even before these comments were voiced, however, a sharply sex-segregated pattern of employment had been firmly established in urban public schools. Women were tracked directly into the primary grades; men, into high schools and managerial roles as principals and school superintendents. The pattern of a white-collar work force in which women held the lowest positions and were directed by men--a pattern so characteristic of the schools--was not dissimilar to patterns in other large contemporary institutions: in hospitals, where women were nurses and men were doctors; in libraries, where women were librarians and men were curators and directors. Pay scales reflected this sex segregation: primary school teachers earned less than high school teachers; principals earned more than either. Often school systems had pay scales explicitly graded by sex: "In 1904," reports David Tyack, "New York paid a maximum salary of $2,400 to male high school teachers, $1,900 to female."[9]

BLACK EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Black teachers faced schools segregated by race as well as by sex. In the aftermath of the Civil War, they also faced the problem of creating schools for the freed slaves who, having been denied education, were now enthusiastic about making up for lost time. Even whites who accepted the end of slavery still insisted that blacks should remain a separate caste, continuing to do servile tasks. These whites were hostile to the expenditure of public money for schooling blacks, whether children or adults. The resistance was only partly due to miserliness; much of it was based on the prediction that well-educated black people would step out of their "place" and compete with whites more effectively for jobs and social position. There was little interest in the South in developing high-quality education for black children.

For a few years after the Civil War, the federal government attempted to provide serious schooling for freed slaves. Northern philanthropic agencies recruited and paid the teachers; the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands established schools and assisted the volunteers in recruiting pupils and supplying them with books.

More than 9,000 teachers, over half of them women, taught in schools for freed slaves in the South during Reconstruction.[10] "No group of teachers worked under more difficult conditions than did the Northern volunteer teachers of the newly freed slaves."[11] All the teachers--male and female, white and black--were faced with ostracism and violence from Southerners who saw the schools

as--what they indeed were--a sign that the condition of blacks was going to be different in the postwar world. To volunteer in the cause was literally to risk one's life.

Charlotte Forten, whom we have already met as she studied to be a teacher before the Civil War (see Section 2), went to the Georgia Sea Islands as soon as they were occupied by federal troops. There she taught in the newly established schools for freed slaves. She was delighted and moved by the genuine hunger that both children and adults, so recently enslaved, displayed for learning.

Charlotte Forten Teaches at a School for Freed Slaves

> Talked to the children a little while today about the noble Toussaint L'Overture. They listened very attentively. It is well that they sh'ld know what one of their own color c'ld do for his race. I long to inspire them with courage and ambition (of a noble sort) and high purpose.
>
> The Journal of Charlotte Forten,
> November 13, 1862

Forten worked in an area from which whites had fled and which was protected by Union troops. Sarah Allen, a white woman who went from Geneseo, Illinois, to teach in a black school in Mississippi in 1871, was not so lucky. After teaching only six weeks, she was wakened between one and two in the morning by 50 men who had surrounded her house. These members of the Ku Klux Klan were wearing

> long white robes, a loose mask over the face, trimmed with scarlet stripes. . . . They yelled like Comanche Indians. They asked me my name and occupation, and where I came from, and what I was doing, and who I boarded with. . . . They asked me if I had heard [that they had whipped Colonel Huggins] and also asked if I had heard that other teachers had been sent away, and what I intended to do. I told them it was a very short notice. . . . They said they never gave a warning but once; that I was to understand it. . . . They said I should leave . . . Monday morning. That was . . . Saturday night. . . . They did not want radicals there in the South; did not want northern people teaching there, they thought the colored people could educate themselves if they needed any education.[12]

A Southern Editor Complains to a Teacher in a School for Freed Slaves

Chronicle Office
Charlottesville, Va.
Feb. 12, 1867

Miss Gardner, I take as deep an interest in the welfare of the negro race as any one. I am anxious to see them educated and elevated, and am prepared to give my aid to further those objects. The impression among the white residents of Charlottesville is, that your instruction of the colored people who attend your school contemplates something more than the communication of the ordinary knowledge implied to teaching them to read, write, cypher, &c. The idea prevails that you instruct them in politics and sociology; that you come among us not merely as an ordinary school teacher, but as a political missionary; that you communicate to the colored people ideas of social equality with the whites. With your first object we sympathize; the second we regard as mischievous, and as only tending to disturb the good feeling between the two races.

Respectfully,

James C. Southall

Reprinted in David B. Tyack, ed., Turning Points in American Educational History

Blacks who supported these schools were at even greater risk. Julia Hayden, a 17-year-old black schoolteacher, was murdered in Tennessee for teaching in a freed slaves' school. Charles Caldwell of Mississippi was murdered by a mob because he had sheltered a white woman who had come south to establish a boarding school for black girls. The teacher, Sarah Ann Dickey, persisted with her school and cared for Caldwell's orphaned daughter; many of her students went on to teach in black elementary schools throughout the South.[13]

Public resistance to tax-supported schools in the South meant that if black children were to receive more than the most rudimentary education, private schools would have to be established. Behind each of the many private academies established for black children in the late nineteenth century lay a heartbreaking story of struggle for money and support.

One of the best of these schools was the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, founded in Augusta, Georgia, by Lucy Craft Laney. Laney's parents had bought their freedom before the Civil War, and she had been a member of the first graduating class of Atlanta University in 1873. Georgia provided no public high schools for blacks, not even segregated ones. At a time when vo-

cational training for blacks was the vogue, Laney insisted on high academic standards at the Haines Institute and offered a full liberal arts curriculum. In the early 1890s she established Augusta's first kindergarten and a nurses' training department. Several of her teachers went on to found their own schools: among them were Janie Porter Barrett, who founded the Virginia Industrial School for girls (which was patterned on a vocational model), and Mary McLeod Bethune, who founded Bethune-Cookman College in Florida and who later became a consultant to Eleanor Roosevelt on civil rights.[14]

In 1870 Mary Jane Patterson was appointed principal of the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth in Washington, D.C. The institute was the predecessor of Dunbar High School, which was for many years the most distinguished high school for black students in the United States, with a strong and demanding academic curriculum.

Haines Institute and Dunbar High School were unusual in providing a challenging academic curriculum for black students. Another innovative school was the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, founded by Quakers in 1849. Fannie Jackson Coppin, one of the first black students at Oberlin, went to the Institute in 1865 to teach Greek, Latin, and mathematics. Within four years she had become principal of the female department. Coppin was an early supporter of vocational training in academic institutions. Dismayed at the difficulty blacks faced in learning skilled trades, she proposed that the Institute raise money to add industrial training to its program.

Coppin's proposals were made at a time when there was a great deal of interest in schemes for vocational education. She urged instruction in highly marketable skills, such as the building trades, in addition to the traditional classical education. But when industrialists and conservatives supported vocational education, they meant a distinct kind of curriculum, one which would track working-class children directly into the industrial work force. Children of blacks and immigrants were especially vulnerable to being tracked. Coppin disapproved of vocational education as it was offered at Hampton Institute and at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee College. When the trustees of the Institute for Colored Youth accepted Washington's advice, dropped history and Latin from the curriculum, and, abandoning the school's library, moved the Institute to a farm outside Philadelphia, Coppin resigned as a matter of principle.[15]

AMERICAN INDIANS AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Reformers also urged industrial training for American Indian children, in the explicit hope that the younger generation would be weaned away from the "savage" ways of their parents. Most white Americans had little respect for Indian tribal culture, and no regrets about attacking it.

Many of the Indian schools were boarding schools, established in the belief that children would be more malleable if they were far away from the influences of their tribe. These schools could be a traumatic experience for the boys and girls who were sent there. While boys learned trades, girls were usually

taught only housekeeping, to fit them to be the wives of the newly "civilized" India boys.

The Director of an Indian Boarding School Reports His Success

The younger ones are the best material to work upon, especially girls; the latter from twelve to fifteen years of age. They are more pliant and more easily acclimated. . . .

On the whole they take kindly to cold water and cleanliness, and to civilized ways.

Southern Workman (Hampton Institute),
June 1879

An Indian Girl Remembers Her First Days at an Indian Boarding School

A palefaced woman, with white hair, came up after us. We were placed in a line of girls who were marching into the dining room. These were Indian girls, in stiff shoes and closely clinging dresses. . . . As I walked noiselessly in my soft moccasins, I felt like sinking to the floor, for my blanket had been stripped from my shoulders. I looked hard at the Indian girls, who seemed not to care they were even more immodestly dressed than I. . . . Among our people, short hair was worn by mourners, and shingled hair by cowards. . . .

I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair.

I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit. Since the day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. . . . In my anguish I moaned for my mother, but no one came to comfort me.

I remember how, from morning till evening, many specimens of civilized peoples visited the Indian school. The city folks with canes and eyeglasses, the countrymen with sunburned cheeks and clumsy feet . . . to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization.

Zitkala-Sa, Atlantic Monthly,
February/March 1900

WOMEN AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Vocational education programs were not simply a neutral alternative to the traditional curriculum; they were shaped with special attention to class and to race. Distinctions were also made by sex; a special sort of vocational training was offered to girls.

The familiar ideology that women were naturally destined for domesticity--an ideology that had been used so effectively to track middle-class women into primary school teaching--could also be employed to sustain the kind of vocational education for working-class girls that would, as one historian has remarked, "put them in aprons and behind brooms" as maids, cooks, and seamstresses. "Domestic science programs" for girls taught simple chemistry in terms of food preparation, mathematics in terms of household accounts and the adjusting of recipes. Women as well as men were often ardent supporters of this sort of education.[16]

The distinctive tracking of females into vocational education programs persisted through the 1970s; as late as 1972, more than 70 percent of female students in public vocational programs were enrolled in homemaking or office skills courses (conversely, 60 percent of male students were in technical, industrial, or agricultural programs). These practices were challenged by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination in any educational activity; the sex-based distinctions in vocational education are slowly being eroded.[17]

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

In the first half of the nineteenth century young women had firmly established their claim to a grade school education. As high schools were developed, girls attended them. But even though Oberlin College had begun to admit women when it opened in 1833, and a few women's seminaries, such as Mount Holyoke, had a curriculum demanding enough to approach the level of the college, most Americans persisted in the belief that girls should not go to college.

Distinguished physicians argued that women's bodies could not stand the strain of prolonged serious study. In a best-selling book entitled Sex in Education, Dr. Edward H. Clarke, a professor at Harvard Medical School, argued that the adolescent girl who was sent to a female seminary or college

> had two tasks imposed upon her at once, both of which required for their perfect accomplishment a few years of time and a large share of vital force: one was the education of the brain, the other of the productive system. . . . The system does not do two things well at the same time.[18]

Clarke told horror stories: "Miss A--made her brain and muscles work actively, and diverted blood and force to them when her organization demanded active work, with blood and force for evolution in another region." The result, he

announced, was predictable--hemorrhagic menses, pallor, weakness, and inability to bear children. Imagine the effect on the parent who read:

> It . . . is not asserted here, that . . . all the female graduates of our schools and colleges are pathological specimens. But it is asserted that the number of these graduates who have been permanently disabled to a greater or less degree, or fatally injured, by these causes, is such as to excite the gravest alarm.[19]

The distinguished psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who taught Americans to treat adolescence as a distinct period in individual development, also cautioned against serious education for women. It should be a principle of women's education, he wrote,

> to broaden by retarding; to keep the purely mental back and by every method to bring the intuitions to the front; appeals to tact and taste should be incessant. . . . Bookishness is probably a bad sign in a girl; it suggests artificiality, pedantry, the lugging of dead knowledge. Mere learning is not the ideal, and prodigies of scholarship are always morbid. The rule should be to keep nothing that is not to become practical . . . not to overburden the soul with the impediments of libraries.[20]

The popularity of ideas like those of Clarke and Hall meant that women would have to negotiate, persuade, argue, and fight for access to universities and colleges. Girls who were born into families that sent their sons to college as a matter of course would have to work hard to persuade their parents to let them go to college too. They would have to go to school in the face of teasing. All her life, Annie Nathan Meyer, who helped found Barnard College, remembered people who had warned: "Only unattractive girls, undeniable spinsters, are really interested in the Higher Education of women!"[21]

Mary Church Terrell, the First Black Woman Member of the Washington, D.C., School Board, Speaks on Education for Women

It was held by most people that women were unfitted to do their work in the home if they studied Latin, Greek and higher mathematics. Many of my friends tried to dissuade me from studying for an A.B. degree. After I had finished college my father did not want me to get a job teaching. He felt that he was able to support me. He disinherited me, refused to write to me for a year because I went to Wilberforce to teach. Further, I was ridiculed and told that no man would want to marry a woman who studied higher mathematics. I said I'd take a chance and run the risk.

Quoted in Jeanne L. Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education

Yet women's colleges multiplied in the late nineteenth century: Vassar in 1865, Smith and Wellesley in 1875, Bryn Mawr in 1885. Bryn Mawr required prospective students to take entrance examinations in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, or to pass the equally difficult entrance examination used by Harvard College. To critics who complained that the primary purpose of a woman's education should be preparation for marriage and motherhood, Bryn Mawr's president, M. Carey Thomas, replied that critics should "begin by educating their own college men to be husbands."[22]

Public universities opened their doors to women, though rarely without a struggle. The University of Iowa, the first coeducational college west of the Mississippi, was unusual in accepting women from the day it opened in 1856. When their classrooms were emptied by the Civil War, other midwestern institutions overcame their old hostilities to women in the interests of staying in business; at the University of Wisconsin, women were admitted in 1863, although they were temporarily segregated in the Normal School and lived on a separate campus. The University of Michigan, though founded by the legislature as a coeducational institution, refused to admit women until a separate fund of $100,000 was raised in 1870. At the University of Missouri, women were admitted at first only to the Normal School, and then, as the president conceded:

> Finding that the young women . . . did no matter of harm, we very cautiously admitted them to some of the recitations and lectures in the University building itself, providing always they were to be marched in good order, with at least two teachers, one in front and the other in the rear of the column as guards.[23]

TEACHING AND THE COLLEGE-EDUCATED WOMAN

Young women who insisted on attending college in the 1890s often had to do so against stern parental resistance. Even if their parents agreed, they knew it was unusual for a girl to go to college. And a college education could not help but have for young women a significance somewhat different from that for young men. What would justify these women's break with tradition? What contribution could they make to society that was great enough to justify the expense to which they had put their parents and the unusual life pattern they had chosen?

Many female college graduates found that they could justify their education in a familiar way: by becoming teachers. As college graduates, better trained than their normal-school-trained counterparts, they hoped to elevate the quality of the public schools. Their sights were set high. "Elevating the character of women instructors alone might raise the standard of the national intelligence a hundred percent in a generation," the first president of Vassar urged his students.[24] As we have seen, many large state universities explicitly encouraged women students to study education, tracking them away from the liberal arts and into the "normal departments."

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT HOUSE

Other college graduates found purpose in working in the social settlement houses that were developed in cities in response to the needs of the poor. Many of the most important settlement houses were developed by women: among them Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago and Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement in New York. At the College Settlement Association in New York, it was common for large clusters of young women from the same graduating class to take up residence in a settlement house for several years after graduation, extending the camaraderie of college days into several years of social service. These settlement houses are usually remembered for social services: for their visiting nurse programs, for their day nurseries, for the pressure they brought on urban governments to collect garbage and to inspect decrepit housing. It is often forgotten, however, that the settlement houses were pioneering, even radical, educational institutions.

Long before the term outreach was invented, the settlement houses were reaching out to new audiences for learning. Teachers at settlement houses undertook to teach people who were not welcome in the usual schools. They taught English to the foreign-born. They taught women who had baked their bread in communal village ovens how to cope with American kitchens. Jane Addams' Hull House had free reading rooms. It had reproductions of Della Robbia statues in its nursery. Teachers from the extension division of the University of Chicago came to teach art and literature classes. Hull House made room for a labor museum and a textile museum, in which the work of women's hands was exhibited. If we seek to catalogue the contributions of women to American education, the work of the settlement houses must be included in the list.

THE RISE OF THE KINDERGARTEN

While teachers at the social settlement houses were finding ways to teach adults, others were looking at the younger end of the age spectrum. American children habitually began school in the first grade, where they were immediately introduced to the formalities of the three R's. Classes were usually conducted by recitation, and discipline was severe. In Germany, Friedrich Froebel had been developing a different sort of elementary education. It was his position, as Martin Mayer has put it, that "childishness in children is not something to be despised, but something to be cherished--and used educationally."[25]

The development of the kindergarten in the United States can be traced fairly directly. Many, perhaps most, of its supporters were women. The first kindergarten modeled on Froebel's work was conducted in the German language in a small town in Wisconsin in 1856. It was founded by Margarethe Schurz, who, with her husband, Carl, had come to the United States as a refugee after 1848 (Carl Schurz went on to develop an important political career and eventually was elected to the U.S. Senate). Traveling with her husband to Boston, Margarethe Schurz met Elizabeth Peabody, a distinguished Bostonian who was the sister-in-law of Horace Mann.

Encouraged by Schurz, Peabody organized the first English-speaking kindergarten. When her kindergarten proved successful, Peabody and Mary Mann, her sister-in-law, wrote a book about the experience and in 1878 founded the American Froebel Union, which later became the International Kindergarten Union. Peabody traveled to Germany to observe Froebel's schools. She started a newspaper, the Kindergarten Messenger; she lectured about theory and practice (some of her lectures were collected in Lectures to Kindergarteners in 1894); and she advised people who were trying to establish schools of their own.

In Boston, Peabody's most effective supporter was Pauline Agassiz Shaw, who spent $200,000 of her own money establishing kindergartens in poor neighborhoods before she finally persuaded the Boston School Committee to take them over and treat them as a regular part of the public school program in 1871. Their efforts were duplicated across the country. Many settlement houses established kindergartens; so did many chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In 1873 Susan Blow persuaded the St. Louis Board of Education to fund several kindergartens in poor neighborhoods. And in 1878 Kate Douglas Wiggin established kindergartens in San Francisco public schools.

Modification of Froebel's theories occurred at the turn of the century: instead of stressing only play, kindergartens stressed purposeful educational games and activities. Among this second wave of kindergarten founders, the most distinguished were Anna Bryan of Louisville, Kentucky; her student Patty Hill Smith, who taught at Teachers College at Columbia University; and Alice Putnam of Chicago, who ran one school at Cook County Normal and then moved to Hull House.[26]

In 1870 there were only 40 kindergartens in the country. After a model kindergarten was displayed at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, kindergartens spread rapidly. By 1880 there were 400. By 1930 some 778,000 children attended kindergartens, and the National Education Association recommended that kindergartens be part of all school systems.[27]

The women who lobbied for kindergartens saw their effort as a movement to humanize early childhood education. In their opposition to corporal punishment and regimentation, in their insistence that normal children's play be brought into the classroom and made the basis for teaching, they anticipated many of the tenets of the progressive reformers of the next generation. The women who supported kindergartens tended to be middle-class women who were supporting sensitive methods of child rearing.

There was, also, an element of noblesse oblige and class bias in what they were doing. "Members of the upper middle class," writes Robert Church, "appear to have initially imported the kindergarten as a means of keeping their children out of the early grades of public schools where parents thought the discipline too harsh."[28] Gradually the kindergarten came to be seen as a way of socializing immigrant children to a middle-class school. "The great majority of children who do not attend school between five and seven," sneered one school committee in 1902, "are unfortunately those of foreign parentage, and as a rule, often of the most ignorant kind. They are the very children who

should be in school."[29] These reformers hoped that by influencing the children they could influence the families; one reformer told this moral tale:

> Two "ragged dirty children" bring [presumably from kindergarten] a flower home to their dingy tenement apartment. The mother has failed to keep the house clean; the father is out drinking. Overjoyed at seeing the flower, the mother places it on a windowsill only to discover that dirt prevents any sunlight from shining through the window to the flower. With the window clean, sunlight reveals the filth of the apartment, which is then quickly cleaned, the mother is washed and dressed, and father, overcome by his new environment upon his return home, vows to give up the bottle.[30]

Sometimes they seemed overbearing in spirit. But the supporters of kindergartens were sensitive to children's need to play, and they understood the importance of early educational experience. Indeed, they anticipated much that would be embodied in the Head Start programs of the 1960s.

SECTION 4: TEACHING AS A CAREER IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1900-1960

> *Whatever makes teachers appreciate the life of the community, the spirit of the nation to which they belong, helps the school. The great drawback in education in the past has been that teachers knew their books and didn't know life outside.*
>
> Ella Flagg Young

Teaching continued to be a woman's profession; by 1920, 86 percent of the nation's teachers were female. Segregation by sex also persisted; in 1905 only 2 percent of the teachers in urban elementary schools were men. "In the high schools," writes David Tyack, "which generally paid more and were more prestigious than the elementary schools, 94 percent of the principals and 38 percent of the teachers were men."[1]

Women who attended college after 1900 were no longer pioneers. They generally met less parental resistance than their predecessors (although of course that varied from family to family), and they were more likely to take going to college for granted. "Between 1900 and 1930," writes historian Paula Fass, "there was a three-fold increase in attendance at colleges and universities," and 40 to 45 percent of the students were women.[2] For many families, sending a daughter to college was more an effort to help her meet eligible marriage partners than it was an effort to widen her intellectual horizons; going to college could be "an act of conformity and not an act of independence."[3]

Prompted partly by their own sense of what was appropriate and partly by a campus culture that sneered at women who sought nontraditional careers, female college graduates entered teaching in larger numbers. For example, 80 percent of the female graduates at Grinnell between 1884 and 1915 became teachers; at Berkeley, 90 percent of the female students planned to teach.[4] The traditional claim that teaching was a good job for a woman continued to be heard, but college women were also warned against treating teaching as a serious profession, and against seeking managerial roles, lest they become dried-up, stereotypical "schoolmarms."[5] Most teachers received their training in normal schools, which offered a shorter course of study.

SALARY DIFFERENCES

Those who entered teaching found that it was not a well-paying profession; in many cities beginning teachers of both sexes were paid less well than unskilled municipal laborers, and women teachers were often paid substantially lower wages than men. In 1905, for example, the average annual salary of a woman who taught in elementary school in an urban school system was $605; the average

salary of her male counterpart was $1,161, nearly twice as much. The gap was smaller in high schools, where women were paid, on the average, two-thirds the salaries paid to men.[6]

Given the discrepancy between the average salaries of men and women, it followed that women teachers would lobby for an equal pay scale. San Francisco had one of the earliest equal pay laws, passed in 1894 after a vigorous lobbying campaign led by Kate Kennedy, a grammar school principal. The law read:

> Females employed as teachers in the public schools of this State, shall in all cases receive the same compensation as is allowed male teachers for like services, when holding the same grade certificates.

Once women achieved the vote, organizations of women teachers had greater political impact. Within a decade after 1920, ten states had passed equal pay laws for teachers, although not all these laws were reliably enforced.[7] The difference in average salaries actually paid to men and women persisted long after equal pay laws had become general practice. Men were more likely than women to be hired as high school teachers, for which pay scales continued to be higher. Differential pay scales between primary schools and high schools began to erode only in the 1960s, and then only after serious pressure by teachers' unions.

THE GROWTH OF TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Groping for ways to resist low salaries and classes that could run as large as 60 or 70 pupils, teachers in urban school systems began to form teacher's associations. The National Education Association had been organized in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it had begun to admit women in 1866. But the NEA was dominated by male college professors, who saw themselves as part of an educational aristocracy now threatened with invasion by classroom teachers. In 1903 the NEA actually chose to hold its annual meeting in a hall whose owners did not permit women to speak.

At the turn of the century, teachers' organizations were organized in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and Pittsburgh. In Chicago and Pittsburgh, these associations opposed the graft and corruption in city governments that affected school budgets and school board policies. In most other cities, classroom teachers were critical of the "reform" school boards that were "modernizing" schools, taking decision-making powers out of the hands of teachers, and placing those powers in the hands of a more "efficient" and centralized bureaucracy. Most teachers' organizations fought centralization and wished to be left alone to teach. That the teachers were generally female and the "experts" male added to the tension between the two groups. Since most classroom teachers were women, it followed that the membership of the new teachers' organizations was female.[8]

The most vigorous of these associations was the Chicago Federation of Teachers, organized in 1897 by Margaret Haley. The CFT mobilized elementary school

teachers to press for higher salaries and to raise embarrassing questions about the misuse of public funds for education. The goals of the CFT included higher salaries, a sound pension system, and tenure for teachers. Although the thousands of members of the CFT were unable to vote, they petitioned, they lobbied, and they led campaigns for child-labor legislation and against centralization of school governance (which they feared would diminish the power teachers had in their own schools). In 1902 the CFT joined the Chicago Federation of Labor and, through it, the American Federation of Labor, bringing teachers into the national labor movement.

In other cities teachers organized on the Chicago model, and by 1905 they were joined in a loose alliance called the National Federation of Teachers, with Haley as president. Haley hoped to create "a great union of working women."[9] In New York the Interborough Association of Woman Teachers, led by Kate Hogan, a teacher, and Grace Strachan, a district superintendent, mobilized some 14,000 members by 1910.

The CFT was a factor in pressing for the appointment of Ella Flagg Young as superintendent of the Chicago public school system in 1909. She was the first woman to head a major urban school system anywhere in the nation. Young had been a school principal, an assistant superintendent of Chicago schools, and a member of the faculty of John Dewey's department of pedagogy at the University of Chicago. She supported the introduction of progressive education strategies into public school classrooms. She refused to countenance the "school book trust" and other special interest groups that expected to profit from school contracts, and she ended the "secret marking system which made the teachers' standing dependent wholly upon the will of the principal or superintendent."

Young warned that women were "no longer satisfied to do the greatest part of the work and yet be denied the leadership."[10] She supported the teachers' unions. She expected to see many women following her into administrative roles. She herself led a movement to revitalize the NEA, and in 1910 insurgent women succeeded in electing her to its presidency. She redirected the NEA's efforts toward support of "increasing attention to classroom teachers [and] endorsing higher salaries, equal pay for equal work, women's suffrage, and advisory teachers' councils."[11]

THE DECLINE OF TEACHERS' UNIONS

Despite the great enthusiasm with which teachers' unions had begun, their growth slowed after 1920. The issue that had galvanized the first generation of union members--the bureaucratization of city schools--was so well accomplished by 1920 that it seemed impossible to undo, and no other new issue seized the imagination of the next generation.

During the Great Depression, the position of many teachers became insecure. Complaints about the feminization of teaching persisted; so did disparity of pay between men and women. Many American cities adopted the policy of not employing married women as new teachers and of requiring single women to resign immediately upon marriage. This regulation was generally justified on the

grounds that in a time of scarcity, no single family should monopolize two jobs; men, however, were not expected to resign from their jobs when they married. The regulation continued to be in effect in many districts, even after the Indiana Supreme Court had ruled that it was in conflict with the tenure law, which protected a teacher from arbitrary dismissal.

These rules and regulations were less popular as the depression lifted, and they eroded entirely when World War II drew men into the military and into business. Married women were more welcome as teachers. Maternity leaves (without pay) were arranged during periods of pregnancy and for the child's infancy (these leaves, however, were usually required, so that young mothers had several years of enforced unemployment). The indulgence of married women was defended partly on the basis of fairness--"the object should be the best teacher available, irrespective of sex"--but also on the ground that

> The attractive woman who finds it easy to marry and establish a home is the kind of woman that the schools need and cannot secure or retain under regulations against marriage. . . . Married women tend to have a saner view on sex, and are less likely to become "queer."[12]

Thus the old notion that it was inappropriate for women teachers to be married was replaced by its opposite, just as stereotyped: that married women were particularly well suited to be teachers and that teaching was a particularly appropriate job for a married woman. The long summer vacation and the six-hour working day seemed to permit the integration of family life and career more easily for teaching than for most professions. A qualified woman teacher who could be hired by any school system could find work wherever her husband found his. It was generally assumed that the husband's career would define the family's place of residence and style of life, and teaching was defended as attractive because it seemed so self-effacing.

Not until the 1960s and the occurrence of a series of major strikes were teachers' unions revitalized. The top officers of these unions are still generally male, although lower ranking officers and most of the membership are female, reflecting the fact that most classroom teachers are female. Between 1928 and 1968 the number of female elementary school principals dropped from 55 percent to 22 percent.[13]

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATORS

Nineteenth-century educators had tended to think that education was a simple matter of the transmission of old ideas to a younger generation; the child was in school to absorb, not to question. In the interests of discipline, the demand for passive demeanor could be carried to extremes in large urban schools. At the end of the century, one observer of St. Louis schools complained:

> During several daily recitation periods, each of which is from twenty to twenty-five minutes in duration, the children are obliged to stand on the line, perfectly motionless, their bodies

> erect, their knees and feet together, the tips of their shoes touching the edge of a board on the floor. . . . The recitation is repeatedly interrupted with cries of "Stand straight," "Don't lean against the wall," and so on. I heard one teacher ask a little boy: "How can you learn anything with your knees and toes out of order?"[14]

The early kindergarten reformers had resisted this trend. At the end of the century a new generation of "progressive educators" extended the work of the kindergarten reformers to the rest of the grade school, encouraging active, not passive, children. The progressive educators experimented with ways to harness the child's natural interest in play to the child's intellectual training. They thought of the school as a small community in which children learned the skills they needed to function effectively and live happily in the community surrounding them. Teachers, they thought, should ensure that there was a close relationship between what a child did in school and the world the child experienced outside the classroom. The school, they thought, ought to be treated as "a means of developing a social consciousness and social ideals in children."[15]

Progressive educational reform owes a great deal to the work of John Dewey, the distinguished philosopher and professor of education at the University of Chicago and, subsequently, at Columbia University in New York. His major books, among them The School and Society (1899) and The Child and the Curriculum (1902), are still widely read. Generations of young teachers flocked to study with Dewey.[16] His wife, Alice Chipman Dewey, was a close collaborator and principal of the University of Chicago Laboratory School, where what had begun as theory was transformed into practice. Ella Flagg Young was also an important colleague, helping Dewey find empirical form for his ideas and testing them in Chicago classrooms. "More times than I could well say I didn't see the meaning of some favorite conception of my own till Mrs. Young had given it back to me," Dewey observed.[17]

Many of Dewey's collaborators in progressive educational reform were women. It may be that women's leadership in the kindergarten movement led them easily into another effort to humanize educational practices. It may be that because women had been less welcome in the educational establishment, they felt more free to criticize it. It is also important to remember that the 1920s, a time when a number of important and innovative progressive private schools were founded by women, was also a time when the male monopoly of administrative positions in public school systems was nearly total. It may be that women founded schools in part because they were blocked from the usual avenues of advancement.[18]

One such founder was Marietta Johnson, who brought progressive principles to the School for Organic Education in Fairhope, Alabama. Johnson founded the school in 1907 and headed it until her death in 1938.

In New York City, Elizabeth Irwin, author of Fitting the School to the Child, founded the Little Red School House in 1921. It was funded by the Progressive

Education Association and linked to the public school system. When public funding ended in 1932, Irwin continued the venture as a private school. She wrote:

> We believed in the beginning . . . that children can be happy in school, that education must be thought of in terms of growth and comes by experiences rather than by mere learning, and that life does not begin when school ends but rather, as John Dewey says, school is life.[19]

When children at the Little Red School House studied about clothing, they might do sewing projects and visit tailor shops and stores. When they studied botany, they were taken to parks to look at specimens. Toes did not have to be kept in line; children worked with their hands and played games. Teachers encouraged social interaction, problem solving, and original thinking. To the Little Red School House came some 2,000 visitors a year, to observe and to learn. The school conducted special classes for public school teachers and accepted some practice student teachers, hoping to broaden its impact, which was, by the 1930s, already wide. (The Little Red School House was one of the earliest consciously integrated private schools.)[20]

Helen Parkhurst studied in Italy with Maria Montessori in 1914 and returned to the United States to establish the first Montessori teacher-training school in America; Parkhurst thus made possible the enormous impact of Montessori's curriculum on early childhood education in America. Parkhurst also developed a contract plan of education, in which students took great initiative and responsibility for their own classroom activities. The contract plan came to be known as the Dalton Plan, because it was a distinct part of the curriculum at the Dalton School in New York, which Parkhurst founded and to which other educators came frequently to observe and to learn. Many schools still use variations of the Dalton contracts as a way of encouraging children to work more independently.

After studying with John Dewey, Hilda Taba directed the Center for Intergroup Education at the University of Chicago. In 1957 she moved to San Francisco State College. She brought with her a concern for teaching children from a variety of cultures, and she developed social studies programs that stressed good relationships among ethnic groups. Late in her life, she pioneered in developing the TABA books in social studies, an innovative series that paid a great deal of attention to ethnic traditions. Because of its distinctiveness, the TABA curriculum was widely adopted by school districts throughout the nation in the 1960s.

Progressive education became something of a national fad in the 1920s and 1930s. Progressives were proud of their lack of structure. "We send home no written reports," announced Elizabeth Irwin with pride. "We give no marks, no gold stars, and we award no prizes. We give tests only to determine if the children are up to the standard requirements. We assign no homework in the early years."[21] At Marietta Johnson's School for Organic Education, books were not used in classes until the ninth grade, and children were not taught to read until they showed interest in reading.[22] Critics complained that although progressive education might be pleasant for the children, it delayed

the teaching of such skills as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that even when those skills were introduced, they were not effectively taught.

Slowly progressive education fell out of favor; the Progressive Education Association disbanded in 1955. But many, perhaps most, of the new curricular elements introduced by the progressive reformers are still part of the curriculum today. Open classrooms, which have become popular in the past two decades, owe a great deal to the progressive educators of the 1920s.

BLACK WOMEN: FORGING NEW OPPORTUNITIES

One of the most distinguished educators of her generation was Mary McLeod Bethune. The daughter of slaves, Bethune was born in 1875, the first child in her family to be born in freedom. Her early schooling was provided by missionary teachers; "the whole world opened to me when I learned to read," she later recalled.[23]

Bethune taught briefly at Lucy Laney's Haines Institute. She began her own school, with five little girls for pupils, in a small cottage in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1904. It took courage to maintain a private school in a community that was unwilling to provide decent education for blacks. Bethune always had to be deeply involved in fund raising as well as in teaching. Gradually the school extended its mission. It became a high school; it offered many forms of vocational education; it trained teachers. When its students were denied medical treatment by the local white hospital, Bethune began a college infirmary that accepted black patients from throughout the state. The hospital trained nurses for 20 years, until the city of Daytona Beach finally took it over. In the 1920s it was merged with a men's junior college; both were supported by the Methodist Church and renamed Bethune-Cookman College. By the time Bethune retired from its presidency in 1942, the school was a four-year college. It received its accreditation in 1948.[24]

Bethune was a special consultant on Negro affairs to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a close adviser to Eleanor Roosevelt. Writes Gerda Lerner:

> At national and international conferences and conventions, she became a symbol of race achievement. Standing up quietly for her rights, she shamed bigots and weathered innumerable affronts by her personal dignity. Her high office and wide influence never lessened her deep commitment to the poor people from whom she came and to the militant pursuit of full citizenship rights for all black Americans.[25]

Mary McLeod Bethune Starts a School

We burned logs and used the charred splinters as pencils, and mashed elderberries for ink. I begged strangers for a broom, a lamp, a bit of cretonne to put around the packing case which served as my desk. I haunted the city dump and the trash piles behind hotels, retrieving discarded linen and kitchenware, cracked dishes, broken chairs, pieces of old lumber. Everything was scoured and mended. This was part of the training to salvage, to reconstruct, to make bricks without straw. . . .

The school expanded fast. In less than two years I had 250 pupils. In desperation I hired a large hall next to my original little cottage, and used it as a combined dormitory and classroom. I concentrated more and more on girls, as I felt that they especially were hampered by lack of educational opportunities. . . .

I had many volunteer workers and a few regular teachers, who were paid from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month and board. I was supposed to keep the balance of the funds for my own pocket, but there was never any balance--only a yawning hole. I wore old clothes sent me by mission boards, recut and redesigned for me in our dress-making classes. At last I saw that our only solution was to stop renting space, and to buy and build our own college.

Nearby was a field, popularly called Hell's Hole, which was used as a dumping ground. I approached the owner, determined to buy it. The price was $250.00. In a daze, he finally agreed to take five dollars down, and the balance in two years. I promised to be back in a few days with the initial payment. He never knew it, but I didn't have five dollars. I raised this sum selling ice cream and sweet-potato pies to the workmen on construction jobs, and I took the owner his money in small change wrapped in my handkerchief.

That's how the Bethune-Cookman college campus started.

Mary McLeod Bethune, "Faith That Moved a Dump Heap"

When Bethune began teaching, fewer than two out of every ten graduates of black colleges were women. (Only 22 black women and 134 black men received bachelor's degrees in 1910.) By 1930, four out of every ten graduates of black colleges were women, and by 1940, more women than men were receiving degrees from black colleges.[26] Black women continued to represent more than half the enrollment of black college students until the late 1960s, when the composition by sex became more evenly balanced.

The reverse distribution prevailed among whites; between 1930 and 1950, more white men than white women received B.A. degrees. The reasons for the pattern of black female college attendance are not yet fully clear. Part of the answer may lie in the fact that black women could go to college or normal schools to prepare to be teachers with reasonable assurance that there would be jobs for them. Since teaching was thought to be a woman's profession, fewer black men prepared for it; moreover, black men probably experienced more hostility than black women did for "stepping out of their place" in achieving higher education. There were no fields other than perhaps the ministry in which an educated black man could have reasonable assurance of a job upon graduation. In 1950, 58 per-

cent of all black professionals were women (only 35 percent of all white professionals were women). The U.S. Bureau of the Census ascribed this in part to "the important group of Negro woman teachers."[27]

The first black women to receive Ph.D. degrees were Sadie T. Mossell Alexander (University of Pennsylvania), Georgiana Rosa Simpson (University of Chicago), and Eva Dykes (Radcliffe) in 1921.[28] With rare exceptions (Oberlin and Wellesley), black women who attended white colleges before 1950 were not permitted to live in the regular dormitories and had to make special arrangements to board with black families in the area.

A Black Woman Attends a White Boarding School

Black women who sought access to white educational institutions experienced cruelly heartbreaking snubs. A young woman whom we know only as "Ruth" was sent to a boarding school near Philadelphia shortly after World War I. The teenager was light-skinned, and the school asked no questions when she was admitted. But after she had been in school for a few months, her mother received this letter:

> My dear Madam: I regret very much the necessity that compels me to broach a matter that must prove a wrong done one of us and not pleasant to either. There is a conviction growing up among the members of our student body that Miss R bears other than Caucasian blood. If this be true, her presence here would be contrary to our precedent and would be received by our alumnae and corporation with disfavor. Miss R is a quiet, studious young woman, and while her schoolmates do not approve of race intermingling, they have suspended judgment in her case, and she is treated with due respect. Should what we fear prove true, the school would, of course, refund all money paid in after deducting for her room and tuition while here. If we are mistaken in this matter I shall be very sorry to have caused you this annoyance and will take steps to set the matter right before all concerned. Awaiting your early reply, I am very truly yours.

Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World

WOMEN AND THE RACIAL INTEGRATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Women and girls were deeply involved in the movement to integrate American schools in the 1950s. The landmark case Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) was brought on behalf of Linda Brown, a young black girl who lived only five blocks from a white school but was required by Topeka's segregationist policies to travel more than four times that distance to attend a black school. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the girl's parents, agreeing with them that to separate black children from others "of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their

status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.[29]

But even after the Brown decision, each school system and each individual university had to devise its own pattern of integration, and many preferred not to do so voluntarily. For three years Autherine Lucy, the daughter of a sharecropper, applied for admission to the University of Alabama, the only institution in the state that offered a program in library science. Not until a federal district court ordered it was she admitted to the university, as its first black student, on Friday, February 3, 1956.

But when Lucy returned on Monday, a mob of more than a thousand threw rocks at the car in which she was being escorted between classes by the dean of women. Threats were made against Lucy's life. It was however, she who was expelled from the university. Although President Eisenhower mildly deplored the defiance of the law, and although the Birmingham federal court ordered Lucy's reinstatement, the University of Alabama was not desegregated for seven more years.

Lucy's actions had focused national attention on the refusal of the Deep South to carry out the intent of the Brown decision. In 1963, Gov. George C. Wallace "stood in the schoolhouse door" to prevent another attempt at integration by a young black woman, Vivian Malone, and James Hood. Not until President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and instructed it to protect Malone and Hood was the university integrated.

Nor was the Brown decision automatically put into effect in secondary and elementary schools. On September 4, 1957, six black girls and three boys attempted to exercise their right to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. Gov. Orville Faubus called out the National Guard. A New York Times reporter who was watching wrote:

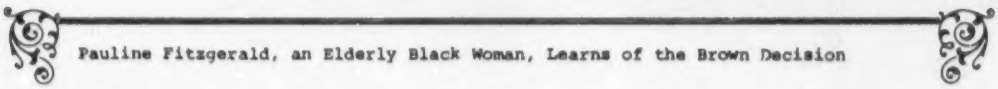
> A crowd waited along with the soldier. Suddenly the cry went up: "A nigger! They're coming! Here they come!" It was fifteen-year-old Elizabeth Ann Eckford. . . . She walked quietly up toward a school door, but a National Guardsman barred her way.

To prevent the intrusion of these black children, Little Rock public schools were completely closed through 1958-59. Finally a federal court declared the school-closing laws unconstitutional, and the high schools were reopened; the city of Little Rock had tested the possibility of using troops to resist desegregation. The entry of Elizabeth Eckford was a turning point:

> On August 12, 1959, Elizabeth Ann Eckford, who had walked so bravely through the mob toward Central High School two years earlier, made that trip again. Again there was a mob--but this time the Little Rock police sternly maintained order.[30]

In the future there would be other threats to black children, but they would be made by mobs rather than troops or police. Only partially resolved are the

broader questions of the integration of children who belong to racial and cultural minorities.



Pauline Fitzgerald, an Elderly Black Woman, Learns of the Brown Decision

Grandmother . . . bundled up Aunt Pauline in the spring of 1880 and sent her down to Raleigh to St. Augustine's School, which had been organized in 1867 under the Protestant Episcopal Church. . . . It was a daring thing to do; the first morning Aunt Pauline was led into the classroom by Miss Mary Pettiford, everyone gasped in astonishment.

"Where on earth did that child come from?" everybody wanted to know, as the other students were men and women in their late twenties and thirties.

"They brought me every subject they studied," Aunt Pauline recalled. "I read for them, worked problems of arithmetic, answered questions in history, gave the parts of speech, spelled and recited poetry. . . ." In September 1885 she put up her hair, put on a long grown-up dress and went to take the county teachers' examination.

"There I was with many men and women twice my age," she recalled. "I was so afraid they'd find out I was only fourteen and send me home again. . . ." Thus began a teaching career which did not end until Aunt Pauline was seventy-six. . . . Always a woman of respectability and moderation with an inner fire, she was 'a light to others,' spanning the great struggle for education from 1870 to 1955. She was an indomitable force in and out of the schoolroom, motivated by the belief that she had to give an account to God for every child who came under her care. . . . My most moving memory of her was the day in her eighty-fourth year when she read the Supreme Court decision on integration of the public schools and said, "Thank God that I have lived to see this come to pass in my time!"

Pauli Murray, Proud Shoes

SECTION 5: TOWARD NON-SEXIST SCHOOLS, 1960-1980

> *Historians a hundred years hence may consider the ferment of the 1960's and 1970's to be a major turning point in the history of American education, comparable in impact to the common school crusade of the mid-nineteenth century or the program of the administrative progressives in the early twentieth century.*
>
> David Tyack

We have not yet agreed on a simple label for "the ferment of the 1960's and 1970's." Perhaps we are still too close to understand it fully. Certainly it had many elements of the reforms advocated by the founders of kindergartens and by the progressives: their respect for "the childishness of the child," their respect for human values in the classroom, their understanding that the school day was the child's life and shaped the child's values perhaps as strongly as home and family did. The early progressives' insistence on education for competence (which later progressives had permitted to erode) was renewed, especially after the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in 1957.

REASSESSMENT OF THE SCHOOLS: SEX-ROLE ISSUES

As we have seen, much of this reexamination was initiated by the civil rights movement. After the Brown decision, schools were challenged to reassess not only their enrollment policies but also their hiring and promotion practices, their patterns of schoolbook purchases, the content of their curricula. Racial desegregation in enrollment was not enough. It came to be understood that a history of the United States that did not mention the black experience except under slavery was shortchanging pupils by giving them a distorted understanding of what had happened in the past. What the civil rights movement had insisted on for blacks could be extended to other minorities and cultural groups, particularly Hispanics, who were the second largest minority group in the United States. School systems, especially in the Southwest, began to restructure their curricula in order to reflect the presence of Spanish-speaking communities. Similar revision was urged for women, both of the way in which the curricula addressed the distinctive experiences of women and of the roles women played in the school system.

Efforts to revise the curricula were supplemented by another set of complaints, which grew out of the peace movement and the opposition to the Vietnam War. As the earlier progressives had done, the reformers of the 1960s criticized the way life was lived <u>in</u> schools and argued that most classrooms

encouraged damaging stereotypes that children would then bring with them into adult life. Schools were criticized for encouraging young boys to engage in aggressive play; conscientious objectors suggested that wars might be avoided if boys received more encouragement for the display of their nurturing instincts. The pattern of consigning early childhood education to women because they were supposed to be more "motherly" was attacked. Teachers usually received draft deferments; men began to appear as nursery school teachers.

The criticism of traditional sex roles begun by the antiwar movement was energetically extended by the revitalized feminist movement that developed in the late 1960s. Feminists undertook a wide-gauged reassessment of education in America, from the perspective of students and of teachers at all levels of schooling, from nursery schools to the Ph.D. Feminism was not a monolithic movement; no single person or group developed this critique. But there was widespread agreement that the educational system seemed to be favoring males in the allocation of jobs, in the expenditure of funds, and in the content of the curriculum. A new phrase was coined--"sex-role stereotyping"--to describe the practice of expecting different behavior from boys and girls; this stereotyping began when children were infants and seemed to permeate all their educational experiences, from nursery school on. Studies showed that sex-role stereotypes had even found their way into apparently neutral portions of the curriculum, like mathematics.

From a Review of Two Fifth-Grade Math Textbooks

Page 45---Out of ten problems, five dealt with girls cooking and sewing.

Page 65---Problems dealing with club activities: girls are shown making sandwiches, while boys build dividers.

Page 155--Out of ten problems, five deal with boys working at physical activities, and two problems have girls babysitting and sewing.

Page 173--There are eleven problems altogether, ten dealing with boys earning money, building things, and going places, while one deals with a girl buying ribbon for a sewing project.

Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools

Comments on a Popular Book for Children

One of the most popular children's books is Richard Scarry's Best Word Book Ever. The two-page spread called "Things we do" is particularly instructive of sex-role distinctions: . . . the boy shouts--the girl whispers, the boy talks--the girl listens, the boy reads, draws--the girl watches television, the boy walks, runs, stands--the girl sits.

Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism

Though the practice of separate entrances marked "Boys" and "Girls" had died out and the literacy gap had been eliminated, segregation on the basis of sex continued to characterize American schooling. As late as the 1960s, only girls took cooking; only boys took shop. In gym, girls were rarely coached in running, which was considered a male sport; some sports, like basketball, had special rules when played by women.

In other courses segregation by sex persisted without formal assignments. Parents and counselors "tracked" girls into subjects considered suitable for them, like languages and poetry, and away from subjects considered suitable for boys, like mathematics and engineering. The psychologist Lucy Sells noticed that even the women who entered the competitive University of California at Berkeley had already severely limited their choice of major by failing to take the high school prerequisites for the basic mathematics and science courses.[1]

In defense of the schools, it could be said that the curricula realistically reflected the actual occupations and opportunities readily open to women. In this, as in so many other things, the schools did not pit themselves against society; rather, they tended to reflect the expectations of the community. The old ideology that assumed women's work to be incompatible with the family (despite the fact that most women who worked usually did so in order to strengthen their families' economic positions), and maintained that women who worked should not embark on long-term commitments that would take their attention away from children and husbands, was still very strong; perhaps we should not be surprised to find it present in the schools as well as outside them. Families as well as guidance counselors habitually suggested that a girl consider only those occupations which could be flexibly scheduled around family duties and her future husband's career (with the implicit message, of course, that a woman's career was secondary).

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN TEACHING AND ENROLLMENTS

In this context, teaching seemed a particularly good career for a married woman, first because it seemed to promise not to conflict with her husband's job mobility, and second because long summer vacations and relatively short

working days promised less interference with child care than would be true of most other professions. In fact, career patterns in public schools had not changed substantially since the 1920s. Teaching was still considered a "woman's profession," but women did not have equal access to administrative positions. The proportion of school principals who were women had declined substantially since the 1920s, and the decline continued in many areas. A national survey in 1969 found that whereas 86 percent of the elementary school teachers were women, 78 percent of the principals were men.[2]

When the status of women in higher education was reexamined, many people were surprised to discover that although in 1920, 47 percent of the undergraduates had been women, in 1958 only 35 percent were women. In 1920 women had filled one-third of college-level faculty positions; in 1970 they held less than one-fourth. The University of Chicago had had a higher proportion of women on its faculty in 1899 than it did in 1970. Harvard did not appoint its first tenured woman until 1956 (she was Cecelia Payne-Gaposkin, astronomy), nor did Yale until 1959 (she was Mary Wright, Chinese history).

Patterns of sex discrimination in higher education affected both students and faculty. Coeducational colleges, universities, and professional schools, complaining that "sex-blind" admissions analyses might result in an entering class made up of excessive numbers of women, maintained quotas for women, invisibly restricting their access to higher education. More than 40 percent of the female freshmen of 1968 had high school grades of B+ or better; only 18 percent of the males did. As late as 1975, "although consistently better students than men in high school, women received only 45 percent of the B.A.s, 13 percent of the professional degrees, and 21 percent of the Ph.D.s."[3] Rank and salary differences between men and women on college faculties were substantial. In 1975, 50 percent of the men on faculties were professors or associate professors; only 25 percent of the women had achieved those ranks. And schools of education continued to enroll large numbers of women (as schools of engineering continued to enroll large numbers of men).

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY: TOWARD SEX EQUITY

In the mid-1960s the demand began to be voiced that schools and the federal government bring to bear the same pressure to end sex discrimination as had been brought to oppose race discrimination. The first manifesto of the National Organization for Women, published in 1966, included a demand for equal educational opportunity. The manifesto said it was the <u>right</u> of women "to be educated to their full potential equally with men." It assumed that sex discrimination was generally unwholesome, and it asked for federal and state legislation to eliminate "all discrimination and segregation by sex, written and unwritten, at all levels of education." In 1966 few people acknowledged the pervasive discrimination that existed; by 1972 many studies had documented its existence, and many new statutes, both state and federal, contained provisions that affected women's status.

Reformers asked for major changes in the curriculum: from basal readers that showed mothers at stoves and fathers piloting airplanes, to high school

English anthologies that led students from Shakespeare to Walt Whitman to Robert Lowell without stopping for Jane Austen, George Eliot, or Gertrude Stein. Attempts were made to see history "through women's eyes"; historians reinvigorated the study of history by fresh consideration of institutions and experiences that had been of special significance to women. In colleges and high schools, women's studies programs were developed--by 1980 it was the rare college that lacked one--and many educators hoped for the full integration of women's experience in all "mainstream" courses. (This curricular unit is itself an example of that effort.)

Perhaps the most significant congressional action was the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. This statute read:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.[10]

The impact of Title IX has been substantial. A measure of how great a change it implies is suggested by the fact that it was not made effective until 1975, in order to give schools a chance to devise compliance programs. It forced most public institutions to reexamine their curricula. The disparity between the educational opportunities for girls and for boys in 1972 was especially marked in athletic facilities and recreation education, and by 1980 major rearrangements of physical education programs were under way. Title IX also had important implications for teachers, requiring

> nondiscrimination in employment criteria, recruitment, compensation, job classification and structure, fringe benefits, marital or parental status, advertising of jobs, and handling of pre-employment inquiries. Leaves of absence and fringe benefits must be offered to pregnant employees as they are offered to the temporarily disabled.[4]

Moreover, in 1974 the Women's Educational Equity Act acknowledged the persistence of educational programs that were "frequently inequitable" as they related to women, and that therefore "frequently limit the full participation of all individuals in American society." It authorized substantial federal financial support for the development of new educational materials related to educational equity (of which this curricular unit is one) and research, guidance counseling, and the expansion and improvement of educational opportunities for women.

SECTION 6: CONCLUSION

Ever since the 1790s, when they asked the "Daughters of Columbia" to educate a "rising generation" to be virtuous citizens in a new, frail republic, Americans have expected their educators to solve many of the nation's major social problems. Going to school is an experience virtually all of us share. What we are taught there and the ways in which we are taught are formative experiences, for better or worse, for all of us.

Children learn more in school than the three R's. They receive much subtle instruction in what is expected of them after they leave school; as historian Barbara Finkelstein remarks, institutions of education are also instruments of cultural, social, and economic definition.[1] The walls of the school may seem to mark a place of retreat from the pressures of the "real" world, but they also act as a permeable membrane. Attitudes and assumptions held by the community will find their way into the ivory tower.

We should not, therefore, be surprised to find that educators have held popular stereotypes about women and about what ought to be expected of women. Nor should we be surprised to find that sex has structured professional opportunity in teaching as it has in virtually all other fields. But we can learn that the history of American education has been more complex than we thought, and that sex has been a major factor contributing to that complexity. As the historian Patricia Albjerg Graham points out, educational opportunities for students and career opportunities for adults have long been strongly affected by "the circumstances of one's birth--sex, race, religion, parents' birthplaces, and family social and economic status."[2] Many studies have evaluated the effect of class and race on educational opportunity; in these pages we have tried to identify some of the occasions on which sex has been an important determinant of access to schooling or to careers.

Reviewing educational history while watching for the ways in which sex has made a difference leaves us with a fresh perspective on the American past. It also leaves us with a long agenda for future research, and many more questions than answers. What difference does it make in the life of a community when most of its men can read and most of its women cannot?

What accounts for the speed at which women apparently closed the "literacy gap" between 1780 and 1830? Why were there sharp regional variations in the amount of schooling offered to girls? (One study estimates that on the eve of the Civil War, when virtually all native-born white women in the North could read and write, one out of every five Southern women could not.)[3] Why did teaching shift from being a male to a female occupation? Was the popular analogy between mothers and teachers helpful or confusing to children?[4] Why did most

people accept unquestioningly the proposition that men should supervise the women who taught?

We need to understand with more subtlety than we do now the deep ambivalence with which Americans have viewed intellectual activity among women. On the one hand, they have supported schooling for girls; indeed, in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Graham reports, "a slightly higher proportion of girls than boys was attending school and, furthermore, the girls increased their lead over the boys in upper age groups."[5] Coeducational institutions that made only minor distinctions in the course of study offered to girls and boys have long been the norm in the United States, unlike in most European countries.[6] On the other hand, girls and women have long been cautioned against learning too much, and against becoming too firmly commited to academic careers. Women have been encouraged to teach at the same time as they were being warned against turning into sexless, gloomy schoolmarms. The stereotype was even given a name: Miss Grundy.[7] What impact has this set of contradictory instructions had on successive generations of women as they have gone about the business of planning their lives? What difference has coeducation made in American society? What difference would it have made if we had continued to segregate schools by sex as we did by race?

Viewing educational history through women's eyes may help us recover a portion of the past that we have not fully understood. Ultimately we hope to achieve a fuller, more accurate understanding of what schools have meant--and might mean in the future--to the men and women who have made their careers by administering schools and teaching in them, and to the girls and boys who have attended those schools and been influenced by what they learned there.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

1. Find an old teacher contract. Compare it with a contract used currently. What are the differences? What do the changes in the contracts suggest about our changing ideas about the proper role of teachers?

2. Find an old textbook that was once used in your school district. Compare it with a current textbook on the same subject for approximately the same grade level. Comment on the way in which our approach to teaching that subject has changed.

3. Find a textbook that was once used in your school district for teaching history. Compare it with a current textbook on the same subject for the same grade level. Comment on the way in which the two books treat women's experience.

4. Interview a retired teacher about her career. Pay special attention to why she chose to become a teacher, the terms of her first contract, and her relationships with men in the profession. (Were her principals always male? Does she think that made a difference in the way schools were run or school policies set?)

5. Find out when kindergartens were introduced in your school district. If you can, find out who was the most instrumental in establishing kindergartens.

6. Find out when home economics classes were introduced in your school district. Who was instrumental in establishing them? Why did the people who established home economics classes think they were important?

7. A new school is being built. You are asked to name it. What <u>woman</u> in your locality (town, city, state) would you choose for this honor? Why? What <u>man</u> would you choose? Why?

8. Inquire into the background of your own school of education. How did prospective teachers receive their training in 1900? If you had been a student at your own school in 1900 (or 1920 or 1940 or 1960), what courses would you have been required to take?

9. Many schools of education began as a "normal school," which was enlarged into a "teachers college" and then became a "state college." Did your own school undergo such a transformation? If it did, find the local and student newspapers of the time of change. Was there an argument about the change? Why was it supported? Why was it resisted?

10. Is there a teachers' organization in your community? When was it founded? What proportion of its membership is male? What proportion of its membership is female? If it has published a newspaper or newsletter, review back issues. Can you identify the problems that have seemed of most significance to teachers in recent years?

NOTES

SECTION 1

[1]In Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), Bernard Bailyn called for new histories of early American education that (a) would be more than a simplistic account of the founding of individual schools and (b) would understand that a great deal of education takes place outside the formal classroom. Lawrence Cremin, in American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783 (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), regards households, churches, and the community itself as agencies of education.

[2]Quoted in Catherine Fennelly, Connecticut Women in the Revolutionary Era, ed. Glenn Weaver (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1975), p. 10.

[3]Julia Cherry Spruill contrasts the indentures of Susanna Atkins, who was to be taught "to read the Bible thoroughly Sew and household work," and her brother Isaac Atkins, whose master promised to teach him to "Read write & cypher . . . & the Trade of a Carpenter," in Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), pp. 188-89.

[4]Richard Brown, quoted in James Axtell, The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 174-75.

[5]Abigail Foote, quoted in Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols. (New York: Science Press, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 161-62.

[6]Spruill, p. 197; Woody, vol. 1, p. 138.

[7]Sarah Osborn to Joseph Fish, February 28-March 7, 1767, in Mary Beth Norton, ed., "'My Resting Reaping Times': Sarah Osborn's Defense of Her 'Unfeminine' Activities, 1767," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 2 (1976): 527.

[8]Spruill, pp. 186-87; Kenneth A. Lockridge, Literacy in Colonial New England: An Inquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West (New York: Norton, 1974), pp. 39-41. See also William J. Gilmore, "Elementary Literacy in Rural New England," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 92 (1982): 87-178.

[9]Quoted in Carol Ruth Berkin, Within the Conjurer's Circle: Women in Colonial America (Morristown, N.J., 1974), p. 5.

[10]Cremin, p. 182; Walter H. Small, Early New England Schools (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1914), pp. 6-7; Woody, vol. 1, p. 143.

[11]See Spruill, Chapter IX, "The Schooling of Girls," pp. 185-207.

[12]For shrewd observations on Latin as "a male puberty rite," see Walter J. Ong, Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 113ff.

[13]Axtell, pp. 178-79.

SECTION 2

[1]For discussion of the significance of education in modern developing countries, which includes much that is analogous to the American post-revolutionary experience, see James S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

[2]Benjamin Rush, "Thoughts Upon Female Education," in Essays Literary, Moral and Philosophical (Philadelphia: Thomas and Samuel Bradford, 1798), pp. 75-92. I have discussed attitudes toward female education in "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women for the Republic, 1787-1805," in The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial, eds. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick (New York: Knopf, 1974).

[3]Lawrence A. Cremin, ed., The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men (New York: Teachers College, 1957), p. 87.

[4]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 77.

[5]Maris Vinovskis and Richard M. Bernard, "Beyond Catharine Beecher: Female Education in the Antebellum Period," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 3 (1978): 856-69.

[6]Richard Bernard and Maris Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," Journal of Social History 10 (1977): 336-37.

[7]See Vinovskis and Bernard, "Beyond Catharine Beecher," p. 859. Only a small percentage of students went to academies and high schools (the range is from 7 percent in the North to 24 percent in the South), and only a minuscule percentage (nowhere higher than 3.4 percent) attended colleges.

[8]Anna Davis Hallowell, James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884), pp. 54-58. Mott taught until six weeks before her second child was born.

[9]Samuel Worcester, The Christian Mourning with Hope (Boston: Lincoln and Edmunds, 1809), p. 27. The quality of these independent schools varied widely; many promised more than untrained teachers could deliver. See Linda K. Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), Chapters 7 and 8.

[10]Emma Willard, An Address to the Public . . . Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education, 2d ed. (Middlebury: J. W. Copeland, 1819).

[11]For Willard, see Anne Firor Scott's important essays, "What, Then, Is the American: This New Woman?" Journal of American History 65 (1978): 679-703; and "The Ever-Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872," History of Education Quarterly (Spring 1979): 2-35. For Beecher, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).

[12]Emily Noyes Vanderpoel, Chronicles of a Pioneer School (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1903), pp. 81-82.

[13]Scott, pp. 689-90.

[14]Examples of skits used at Miss Pierce's School can be found in Vanderpoel.

[15]Sklar, p. 77.

[16]Willard, Plan, pp. 17, 20-21.

[17]Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols. (New York: Science Press, 1929), vol. 1, p. 463. See also Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (New York: American Book Company, 1939), pp. 199-206, reprinted by Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn.

[18]Sklar, p. 312.

[19]Curti, p. 189. See also Deborah Fitts, "Una and the Lion: The Feminization of District School-Teaching and Its Effects on the Roles of Students and Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," in Regulated Children-Liberated Children: Education in Psychohistorical Perspective, ed. Barbara Finkelstein (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1979), pp. 140-57.

[20]Hallowell, p. 38.

[21]Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897 (New York: European Publishing Company, 1898, and Schocken Books, 1971), p. 444.

[22]Vinovskis and Bernard, "Beyond Catharine Beecher," pp. 863-64.

[23]Meyer Weinberg, A Chance to Learn (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 13.

[24]Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (New York: Atheneum, 1973), p. 37.

[25]Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America (New York: Pantheon, 1972), p. 32. Secret schools and the occasional willingness of planters' children to teach slaves are discussed in Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 204-28.

[26]The case of Sarah Roberts v. City of Boston is thoughtfully discussed in Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 142-52, and David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 112-14.

[27]"Prudence Crandall," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 399-401. See also Edmund Fuller, Prudence Crandall: An Incident of Racism in Nineteenth Century Connecticut (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971).

[28]"Sarah Mapps Douglass," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 511-13.

[29]Constance McLaughlin Green, The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 51, 102, 195.

SECTION 3

[1]Paul H. Mattingly, The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen of the Nineteenth Century (New York: New York University Press, 1975), p. 166.

[2]Marion Harland, quoted in Sheila Rothman, Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 58.

[3]Quoted in Deborah Fitts, "Una and the Lion," in Finkelstein, p. 144.

[4]Woody, vol. 1, pp. 509-10. The rule persisted in some rural areas as late as the 1940s.

[5]Woody, vol. 1, p. 499; Mattingly, p. 165. This trend was also felt in England, where most teachers were women, but not in continental Europe. In Prussia, 90 percent of the teachers were men; in Austria, 77 percent.

[6]"Feminization in School and Home," World's Work, May 1908.

[7]Literary Digest, September 28, 1929.

[8]Woody, vol. 1, p. 510.

[9]David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 62. Tyack and Myra Strober are at work on a major study of sex segregation in the teaching pro-

fession. They have published important preliminary observations in "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 5 (1980): 494-503. This paragraph rests heavily on their formulation of the problem.

[10]Sandra E. Small, "The Yankee Schoolmarm in Freedmen's Schools: An Analysis of Attitudes," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 381-402.

[11]Gerda Lerner, The Female Experience: An American Documentary (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), p. 237. See also Nancy Hoffman, ed., Woman's "True Profession": Voices from the History of Teaching (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1981).

[12]Lerner, pp. 240-44.

[13]Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, Pictorial History of the Negro in America (New York: Crown, 1956), p. 199; "Sarah Dickey," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 473-74.

[14]"Lucy Laney," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 365-66.

[15]Coppin's career is described in Linda Marie Perkins, "Quaker Beneficence and Black Control: The Institute for Colored Youth 1852-1903," in New Perspectives on Black Educational History, eds. Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), pp. 19-43; "Fanny Coppin," Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 383-84. The ideology of vocational education is discussed in Paul Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978), pp. 124-38. For Hampton Institute, see James D. Anderson, "The Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education, 1868-1900," in New Perspectives on Black Educational History, eds. Franklin and Anderson, pp. 61-96.

[16]Violas, pp. 181-82.

[17]Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women in Education (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), pp. 99-108.

[18]Edward H. Clarke, Sex in Education; or, a Fair Chance for the Girls (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1873), pp. 69-70.

[19]Clarke, pp. 62-63.

[20]Quoted in Anne F. Scott, ed., The American Woman: Who Was She? (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 73-74.

[21]Annie Nathan Meyer, It's Been Fun (New York: Schuman, 1951), p. 159.

[22]Roberta Frankfort, Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn of the Century America (New York: New York University Press, 1977), p. 33.

[23]Robert Belding, "Iowa's Brave Model for Women's Education," Annals of Iowa, 3d ser., 43 (1976): 342-48.

[24]Quoted in Rothman, p. 58.

[25]Martin Mayer, The Schools (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 44.

[26]Robert L. Church, Education in the United States: An Interpretive History (New York: Free Press, 1976), p. 329. For a discussion of Patty Hill, see pp. 336-41.

[27]Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1930-1935), vol. 12, pp. 321-22.

[28]Church, p. 321.

[29]Church, pp. 325-26.

[30]Church, pp. 324-25. In "The Politics of Latency: Kindergarten Pedagogy, 1860-1930," in Regulated Children-Liberated Children: Education in Psychohistorical Perspective, ed. Barbara Finkelstein (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1979), pp. 158-83, Dominick Cavello distinguishes between the romantic philosophy of the first generation of "kindergarteners," and the more instrumental, manipulative approach of its successors. See also Marvin Lazerson, "Urban Reform and the Schools: Kindergartens in Massachusetts 1870-1915," in Education in American History: Readings on the Social Issues, ed. Michael Katz (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 224-28; Evelyn Weber, The Kindergarten: Its Encounter with Educational Thought in America (New York: Teachers College, 1969); and Agnes Snyder, Dauntless Women in Childhood Education, 1856-1931 (Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1977).

SECTION 4

[1]David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 61.

[2]Paula S. Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 124; Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 272.

[3]Joan E. Zimmerman, "Daughters of Main Street: Culture and the Female Community at Grinnell, 1884-1917," in Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History, ed. Mary Kelley (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979), p. 158.

[4]Zimmerman, p. 159; Lynn D. Gordon, "Co-Education on Two Campuses: Berkeley and Chicago, 1890-1912," in Kelley, p. 176.

[5]See, for example, Gordon, p. 180.

[6]Tyack, p. 62.

[7]Roy W. Cloud, Education in California (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 60. The California Equal Pay Act, for example, was reasonably enforced only in San Francisco.

[8]Teachers' unions are discussed extensively in Tyack, pp. 255-68, and Wayne Urban, "Organized Teachers and Progressive Reform During the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," History of Education Quarterly 16 (1976): 35-52.

[9]Tyack, p. 264.

[10]Tyack, p. 265.

[11]John T. McManis, Ella Flagg Young and a Half Century of the Chicago Public Schools (Chicago: A. C. McClung and Company, 1916), pp. 156-57; Tyack, p. 265.

[12]Quoted in Leo M. Chamberlain, "Women and Men in the Teaching Profession," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, 19 (1937): 57. For the persistence of social restraints, see Stephen Ewing, "Blue Laws for School-Teachers," Harper's Magazine 156 (1928): 329-38.

[13]Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 5 (1980): 494-503.

[14]Quoted in Selwyn K. Troen, The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), pp. 152-53. See also the comments of Marian Dogherty, quoted in Tyack, pp. 255-56.

[15]From the title of an article by John Dewey, cited in Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 527. See also Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Knopf, 1961).

[16]Curti, pp. 499-541.

[17]Curti, p. 521. See also Jo Ann Boydston, "John Dewey and the New Feminism," Teachers College Record 76 (1975): 441-48.

[18]Women who founded private schools were often women of relatively high social status, who could find the financial resources that private schools required.

[19]Agnes De Lima, The Little Red School House (New York: Macmillan, 1942), p. 5.

[20]De Lima, pp. 12-27.

[21]De Lima, p. 9.

[22]"Marietta Johnson," Biographical Dictionary of American Educators (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 714-15.

[23]"Helen Parkhurst," Notable American Women: The Modern Period, ed. Barbara Sicherman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 526-27; "Hilda Taba," Notable American Women: The Modern Period, pp. 670-72.

[24]"Mary McLeod Bethune," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. American Council of Learned Societies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), supplement 5, p. 54.

[25]Gerda Lerner, The Woman in American History (Menlo Park, Calif: Addison-Wesley, 1971), p. 122.

[26]Jeanne L. Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1956), Appendix D, Table 2, p. 28.

[27]Noble, pp. 29-30, 32.

[28]Noble, p. 30.

[29]See H. C. Hudgins, Jr., The Warren Court and the Public Schools (Danville, Ill.: Interstate, 1970).

[30]Anthony Lewis and The New York Times, Portrait of a Decade: Second American Revolution (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 47-48, 69. See also Elizabeth Huckaby, Crisis at Central High, Little Rock, 1957-58 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

SECTION 5

[1]John Ernest, Mathematics and Sex (Santa Barbara: University of California Press, 1976), p. 13.

[2]Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle, 1971), p. 317. See also Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women in Education (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), pp. 9-19.

[3]Marion Kilson, "The Status of Women in Higher Education," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 1 (1976): 935-42.

[4]Sexton, p. 141. Sexton discusses the implications of federal statutes, pp. 135-45.

SECTION 6

[1]Barbara Finkelstein, ed., Regulated Children-Liberated Children: Education in Psychohistorical Perspective (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1979).

[2]Patricia Albjerg Graham, Community and Class in American Education 1865-1918 (New York: Wiley, 1974), p. 225. This is one of the few studies that evaluates the effects of sex as well as of race, class, ethnicity, and geographic location on educational opportunity.

[3]Maris Vinovskis and Richard Bernard, "Beyond Catharine Beecher," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 3 (1978): 856-69.

[4]See the thoughtful evaluation of this issue by Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, "Family-School Interactions: The Cultural Image of Mothers and Teachers," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 3 (1977): 395-408.

[5]Graham, p. 23. See also Michael B. Katz and Ian E. Davey, "School Attendance and Early Industrialization in a Canadian City: A Multivariate Analysis," History of Education Quarterly 18 (1978): 290-91.

[6]Sexton, p. 5.

[7]See, for example, Adria Reith, "Teaching Is a Good Profession . . . For a Woman," in Judith Stacey, Susan Bereaud, and Joan Daniels, eds., And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education (New York: Dell, 1974), pp. 337-43; and Frances Gray Patton, Good Morning, Miss Dove (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1954).

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